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THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES OF CHRISTENDOM

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES OF CHRISTENDOM

BY THE

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PREFACE

In the present GREATLY ENLARGED EDITION of this book, the history of the *Presbyterian Churches of Christendom* has been brought up-to-date—a work rendered imperative by the many important changes that have taken place in almost every Presbyterian Church since the Twentieth Century began. Particularly has this been the case during the last ten years. None of the leading Presbyterian Churches of the European Continent stands where it did before the Great War. Some stand higher, others have been shattered and cast down. Elsewhere, in Britain, in America, and in the British Dominions Overseas, almost all the Presbyterian Churches are suffering from the social and religious upheavals caused by the War; and by divers methods, notably by Church Union, they have been seeking to fit themselves for the better discharge of the difficult tasks of to-day.

Of these developments an account is given in the following pages; and by careful revision and enlargement of the earlier edition the volume has, it is hoped, been made acceptable and serviceable to all branches of Presbyterianism.

J. N. OGILVIE.

EDINBURGH, *May* 1925.

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CHAPTER I

EARLY PRESBYTERIANISM

As a feature in the life of the Church, *Presbyterianism* reaches back to Apostolic times; as a distinguishing badge of certain great divisions of the Church Catholic, it is strictly modern, dating from the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The course it has run throughout the centuries has been that of a stream which starts with fair promise, but becomes speedily engulfed, and only after an underground passage of many weary miles regains the surface, to enrich and fertilise the soil. The Church of the first century had no features more distinctly imprinted on her than those which are expressed by the term *Presbyterian*, but ere the close of the second century these had disappeared, and did not again come into prominence until the dawn of the Reformation. Then the Presbyterian principles and practices which had been so long suppressed or forgotten reasserted themselves, producing the many and powerful Presbyterian Churches of modern Christendom.

1. Notes of Presbyterianism.—Presbyterianism, as an ecclesiastical distinction, has to do solely with questions of Church polity, and although the Presbyterian Churches of modern times vary considerably in the details of their

organisation and in the power assigned to certain office-bearers, there are three marks common to all, which they cannot forfeit without at the same time forfeiting their Presbyterianism. These are :—

(a) *The Recognition of the Priesthood of the Christian People, by the Institution of the Eldership.*—Associated with the minister of every Presbyterian congregation, for the purpose of ruling over the congregation, are the *Elders*. In their numbers, their mode of election, their duration of office, and also in their proper duties, these vary in different churches; but as representing the people in the rule of the Church, and yet exercising authority over the people, they are found in every branch of Presbyterianism. To no feature in her system does Presbyterianism owe more than to the office of the Eldership.

(b) *The Parity of the Presbyters.*—Presbyterian Churches know no higher order of office-bearers than the Presbyterate. In distinction from Episcopacy, which maintains the existence of *three orders* in the Church—Bishop, Presbyter, and Deacon—Presbyterianism, by identifying the Bishop with the Presbyter, recognises but *two, Presbyter and Deacon*, and insists strongly on the essential equality of members of the former order. Natural ability, spiritual gifts, or eminent position may and often do give to some Presbyters a very real superiority over others, but never the superiority which springs from having been admitted to a higher order in the Church. Since the Apostles passed away (Presbyterianism maintains) the Church has had no higher order than that of the Presbyters, ordained to preach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments.

(c) *The Unity of the Church, represented by a Conciliar System of Government.*—In distinction from Congregationalism, which asserts the independence of every congregation, but in common with Episcopacy, Presbyterianism

maintains the organic unity of the Church. In carrying the principle into practice, however, the two great systems show an important difference. The unity which Episcopacy secures by its hierarchy of officers, Presbyterianism obtains by a hierarchy of councils. The various congregations are grouped together and placed under ecclesiastical councils in an ascending scale, the higher with authority over the lower; and in each of these councils elders rule along with ministers on an equal footing.

2. Presbyterianism in the Early Church.—In justification of these characteristic notes of modern Presbyterianism the example of the Early Church is cited, as showing the prevalence in the earliest days of principles and practices closely parallel with them though not identical. The third note mentioned, the conciliar system of government, has indeed to be excepted. This could naturally not be looked for until the earliest stage in development was over and local congregations had considerably multiplied, but in the *First Council* at Jerusalem "of the Apostles and the Elders and the whole Church" the system was already shadowed forth. Not, however, on this basis alone do the Presbyterian councils rest. They are the natural accompaniment, in the Church's wider life, of the other characteristic marks, the representation of the people and the parity of the Presbyters. These are both found in the Church of Apostolic days.

On this once vexed question, indeed, it is better not to dogmatise. The scantiness of the evidence for the actual constitution of the Early Church forbids it, as well as the fact that what evidence there is points rather to a variable than to a fixed form of organisation. Yet after making all allowances for conflicting evidence, and disowning the old dogma which holds Presbyterianism to be the one divine order of Church government, this much may be safely said—It is becoming increasingly evident

that Presbyterianism more than any other existing system has conserved the main features of the Primitive Church. The record of the early days, given in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Apostolic letters, shows that on founding a congregation the practice of St. Paul was to make arrangements for the carrying on of the work by appointing two bodies of permanent local office-bearers. These were the *Presbyters* (*Elders*) *or Bishops*, to whom was entrusted the rule of the congregation; and the *Deacons*, whose duty was to look after the temporal affairs of the church, the distribution of charity, and the care of the sick. That this was the systematic procedure regularly adopted is very evident from the letters sent by the Apostle to Timothy and Titus, instructing them how to set in order the Churches. The institution of a college of Presbyters and of one of Deacons, chosen by reason of certain personal qualifications, are the things most emphasised. The Presbyters were primarily called to *rule*, but, in common with all who possessed the necessary gift, they shared the privilege and duty of *teaching*, and soon by a natural process the burden of this latter duty fell entirely upon them. Nor was it long before a further limitation of the teaching office took place, it being entrusted solely to the Presbyter who showed most aptitude for the work. To him in consequence was assigned a certain priority amongst his brother Presbyters who merely ruled (1 Tim. v. 17), and in practice he became the president of the college. It was, however, a priority of office, not of order. He was *primus inter pares*.

3. Presbyter or Bishop.—Regarding the *parity of the Presbyters* Scripture leaves no room for doubt. No difference in name, whether Bishop or Presbyter, nor any difference in the duty discharged, whether teaching or ruling, ever implies the existence of a difference in order.

The words "Bishop" and "Presbyter," which in the present day denote two distinct classes of Church officials, then denoted only one. Alike in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Apostolic and post-Apostolic letters, the titles are treated as interchangeable, the same persons being sometimes described as "Presbyters," at other times as "Bishops." It would seem as if the writers were partly guided in choosing a title by the character of the community to which they were writing. To a Jewish Christian congregation the word *Presbyter*, denoting as it did an old office in the Jewish synagogue, was the more familiar, and therefore in letters to such was more frequently employed; while, in correspondence with a Gentile congregation, the Greek word "Bishop" or "overseer," drawn from Greek civic life, was usually adopted. But whether "Bishop" or "Presbyter," the office in the earliest days was practically identical.

On this point, as on the absence of any third order of regular local office-bearers in the Church of those days, there is now practical unanimity, the long warfare between writers of different Churches having come to an end. That Presbyterian features existed in a pronounced form in the Apostolic Church may therefore be accepted as an ascertained fact; but this is not to say that the Apostolic Church was a Presbyterian Church in the modern sense of the term. The peculiar circumstances of the time and the presence in the Church of a special Apostolic agency, which was at once supreme in its power and temporary in its duration, of necessity gave to the Early Church a character and constitution which no succeeding age could reproduce. The one legitimate aim of the Church in all later ages is to preserve those features of the Primitive Church which were unaffected by the removal of the Apostolic founders, and to develop them in accordance with the changing needs of the time.

4. Decline of Presbyterianism in the Post-Apostolic Church.—The opportunity for such development arrived with the close of the first century, when the last of the Apostles passed away, and the Church was left to shape her constitution. The result was the gradual elimination of the Presbyterian features, and the steady development of the Episcopal. The times called for a centralising of power; and for the Church in her infancy the Episcopate was the easiest solution of the difficulty. Had the Christian communities undergone a longer training in their Christian privileges, Presbyterian principles would not have been so easily overborne; but in their immature state central control was necessary. The congregational Presbyters with their Presbyter-President became modified into a congregational Episcopate. The names "Bishop" and "Presbyter" ceased to be synonymous, and were sharply distinguished, the President-Presbyter being alone entitled Bishop, while his erstwhile colleagues, now his assistants, retained the name of Presbyters. As Christianity spread new congregations were gradually formed in the districts round each church, and over these the Presbyters were set in charge, remaining, however, under the oversight of their Bishop-chief. Thus, by a process of development, the Preaching-Presbyter of the early days attained first the position of Bishop of his congregation, with his college of Presbyters under him, when he resembled closely the modern Presbyterian minister with his Elders; then in course of time by expansion of his church he developed into something very similar to the Bishop of modern Episcopacy, with his diocese. The *Parity of the Presbyters* had disappeared. Along with it there vanished also the *popular government of the Church*. This had formerly been secured by the election of the Elders from the ordinary membership of the Church; but with a diocesan Bishop ruling over the Churches the rule of Elders was felt to be inconsistent.

Accordingly in practice the Eldership became merged in the Diaconate, while the spiritual government of the congregation was given into the hands of the Preaching-Presbyter in subordination to his Bishop. Between clergy and laity a line was drawn which had been impossible in the days when the ruling Presbyters had held equal office with those who taught and preached. The spiritual *office* of the clergy was magnified into a spiritual *order*, by which they were sharply distinguished from other men.

5. **Vestiges of Presbyterianism in Later Times.**— These changes, however, which ultimately resulted in the compact Episcopal system with its three orders of clergy, and in a sharp distinction between the clergy and the laity, were not accomplished in a day. Nor was the movement simultaneous over the whole Church. The Eastern Churches altered first; but when once the change had begun it went speedily on, and by the middle of the second century Episcopacy was the rule over both East and West. Presbyterian practices, however, died hard. *Ordination by Presbyters*, which had at first been the regular custom, continued for a time to prevail, the Presbyter-Bishop ordaining in the midst of his co-presbyters; but gradually the Presbyters dropped out and the rite was left to the bishops alone. Yet so late as the close of the third century Presbyterian ordination continued to be the practice in so important a church as that of Alexandria, where the Bishop was one of the Presbyters, chosen by his brethren and by them appointed to his office.

The theory of Presbyterianism lasted even longer than the practice. The priesthood of all believers, so prominent in the New Testament, and which had been so visibly expressed in the equality of the Presbyters, whether teaching or ruling, found no adequate expression in the new system, and accordingly from time to time voices

were raised emphasising the forgotten truth. Bishops were reminded that their high position conferred no higher order upon them than they had possessed as simple Presbyters. "With the ancients," says Jerome, writing in the fourth century, "Presbyters were the same as Bishops, but for the uprooting of dissensions all responsibility was gradually centred in one." And towards the close of the same century Hilary Ambrosiaster writes, "There is one ordination of the Bishop and the Presbyter; for either is a priest, but the Bishop is first." But circumstances were too strong for the persistence of these doctrines. The voices proclaiming them gradually ceased, and an Episcopal polity supported by a continual growth of sacerdotal teaching was the result; Presbyterianism, both as a theory and as a practice, disappeared from view, not to reappear until the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER II

THE REVIVAL OF PRESBYTERIANISM

On 31st October 1517 Martin Luther nailed to the door of the church at Wittenberg his celebrated Ninety-five Theses, and by so doing gave the signal for the religious revolt known as the Reformation. His soul had long protested against the elaborate system built up by the Roman Church, which placed between God and man a series of rites and ceremonies and conditions too grievous to be borne; and when to his own neighbourhood there came the Dominican monk Tetzel, hawking the papal pardons for sins as so many pedlar's wares, Luther's deep-seated convictions forced him to take action. The needed protest was made, and it was effectual.

1. The Way open for Organisation.—The right of the human soul to free access to God, when once openly declared, met with a joyous response from the people. Men's hearts answered to the message from God. From district to district the good news went, stirring the souls of men and rousing them to action, with the result that eight years after Luther's bold deed the Reformation was an accomplished fact over the greater part of Northern and Eastern Germany. Rome's supremacy was disowned, and in 1525, when the princes met at the Diet of Spires, the seal of secular authority was given to the

movement by the enactment of the famous edict that "every State shall live, rule, and believe, so that it shall be ready to answer for itself before God and His Imperial Majesty."

The passing of this Edict of Toleration gave to the Reformed States the opportunity of deciding what constitution they would adopt for their Churches. The rejection of the authority of Rome had resulted in the abandonment of the papal organisation for governing the Church, and no new organisation had as yet been devised. Yet manifestly it was much required, if the new movement was not to end in anarchy. To the reform of Theology and Religion there had to be added the reform of the Church's polity; and so convinced were the princes of the urgency of the matter that as soon as the Edict of Spires gave them the opportunity they began to act.

2. Luther's Position.—Luther naturally had a preponderating influence in deciding the constitution to be adopted. When theorising on the matter he showed a distinct leaning to the Presbyterian principle of the people sharing in the government of the Church. This was in accordance with views he had expressed strongly in his famous *Address to the Christian Nobility*, one of the most emphatic statements of the Priesthood of Believers ever penned. "Man's invention has discovered that the pope, the bishops, the priests, and the monks are called the spiritual or ecclesiastical state; and that the princes, nobles, citizens, and peasants are called the secular state or laity. A fine story forsooth! But let no man be terrified by such fictions. All Christians belong to the spiritual state! Nor is there any other difference between them than that of the functions which they discharge." The discipline of the Church was accordingly by right shared by the congregation. Excommunication was to be exercised not by the minister

alone, but with the concurrence of the whole Church community.

Luther's *theory* was thorough. But when it came to carrying the theory into practice and, by the election of representatives, giving to the people the power in the Church to which they had an acknowledged right, Luther hesitated. Two considerations made him pause. One was the *immature state of the people.* The same cause that probably in the Early Church had prevented the growth of Presbyterian practices again appeared with like effect in the Church of the Reformation. Germany had just experienced the horrors of the Peasant Risings, and the extravagances which had attended these rebellions were fresh in Luther's mind. Not to such ignorant and easily deluded men could power in the Church be safely entrusted. "If there were people who were in earnest in their desire to be Christians," he wrote, "the arrangements would be speedily made; but I neither can nor will institute any such community or board now, for I have not got enough suitable persons for the purpose, nor do I see many who are advancing in that direction." Government of the Church shared by the people was the ideal arrangement (and by granting so much Luther sided with Presbyterianism), but the times were not suitable.

To this conclusion Luther was also urged by the *consideration of the power and wishes of the Reformed princes.* The latter had just succeeded in throwing off the yoke of a Church which had gradually extended her power far beyond the spiritual domain and encroached on the temporal concerns of the State. An *independent* Church had produced a *dependent* State, and the princes feared that what had happened once would happen again if a new independent Church were suffered to arise. Hence one of their chief cares was that, in the manage-

ment of the Reformed Church, they should have a leading part. In this Luther concurred, as being most suitable for the times and as a fit acknowledgment of the great services of the princes to the cause of the Reformation.

3. Presbyterianism approved but not adopted.—As a result of Luther's caution Presbyterianism, though approved in theory, was not adopted by the Lutheran Church. In that Church, as established in Saxony, the Reformer's own province, the rights of the people to a share in the management and discipline of the Church received no full recognition, while the supreme power was left in the hands of the civil ruler.

What happened in Saxony influenced the other Reforming provinces. In the duchy of Hesse Francis Lambert sought in 1525 to inaugurate a system which consistently carried out Luther's principles, and was in its character approximately Presbyterian. John Brenz (1526) and Fabricius Capito (1535) made like attempts in Swabia and Frankfort respectively, but without any lasting effect. The spell of the great Luther was on all the princes. His counsel and example favoured a prudent compromise between theory and practice, and accordingly the Lutheran or Consistorial Constitution was adopted throughout the whole of Reformed Germany.

When, however, a great doctrine has once been openly proclaimed and acknowledged as true, it seldom remains long unapplied. The doctrine of the people's part in the government of the Church had now been clearly stated, and though, owing to the circumstances of the time, it was not immediately carried into practice, it steadily made way. The imperfect and futile attempts which had been made towards realising it in fact were true foreshadowings of what was to come. Presbyterianism had been rediscovered ; and in an age when every community which had

felt the influence of the Reforming movement was revising its Church polity, it was only a question of time when the rediscovered facts in Church polity should find practical expression in a *Presbyterian Church.* Both the hour and the man for this further development were at hand.

CHAPTER III

THE RESTORATION OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN THE CHURCH

THE man to whom belonged the honour of giving Presbyterianism once more a place and a name in history was *John Calvin.* Born in 1509, he was but a child when Luther first sounded the note of Reform, and ere he had reached manhood the Reformation in the greater part of Germany was already an accomplished fact. His place is, therefore, among the Reformers of the second generation. But in the magnitude and importance of his work he is unsurpassed by any.

1. Calvin's Youth.—The early years of this great restorer of Presbyterianism were spent in the sleepy and orthodox town of Noyon in Picardy. Here his father occupied the influential position of fiscal-agent for the lordship of Noyon and secretary to the Bishop of the diocese — an ecclesiastical connection which proved of advantage to his son. Through his father's influence with the Bishop, Calvin was early beneficed with two livings, which made his education easy of accomplishment. From the first he had been intended for the Church, and with this in view he was sent to Paris, at the age of thirteen, to study at the University. Paris at that time was one of the foremost seats of learning. No student whose mind was alive could fail to come in contact with the new ideas

then agitating Christendom, and on an acute intellect such as Calvin's the effect of the impact must have been great. Apparently it cooled his ardour for a clerical career, for on his father suggesting that he should abandon the calling and study law, he at once agreed, and, proceeding to Orleans, entered on the new course. In law as in theology he distanced all his fellow-students, and gained a reputation for ability which was amply justified by his future greatness.

Throughout this period of his career, though he was noted for his austere and upright life, there was little sign of any definite sympathy with the Reforming party. The only suggestive fact recorded is that he studied with ardour the Greek New Testament. But in 1531 the crisis came. Then his father died, and Calvin was left free to choose his own course, which he did in a very decided manner. The law was abandoned; his two benefices, the only means of support which he possessed, were resigned; and having thus burned his boats, he returned to Paris, and openly connected himself with the small band of Protestants then working in that city.

2. "**The Institutes of the Christian Religion.**"—The addition of a man of Calvin's power had a stimulating effect on the little company. The Reformers waxed bold, and in consequence soon experienced the trials of persecution, from which Calvin was forced to save himself by a hurried flight. After various wanderings he found a resting-place in Basel, where he was free to devote himself to those literary labours which were his chief delight through life; and in 1536 he produced his famous work, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, a book which more than any other has influenced the development of Protestant Christianity. It was in a sense an apology for the Reformed Faith. Francis I., King of France, who was then severely persecuting his Protestant subjects, was in political alliance with the Lutheran princes of Germany,

and had to justify to his allies his harsh treatment of their co-religionists in France. This he did by representing the French Protestants as dangerous revolutionaries, similar in character and creed to the Anabaptist fanatics from whom Germany was suffering so much. Calvin in his retirement at Basel heard the libel with indignation, and in his *Institutes*, which he dedicated "To His Most Christian Majesty, Francis, King of France," he set forth in masterly form the real beliefs and hopes which were cherished by the Reformers. But though primarily intended to show Francis how free from faulty and dangerous tendencies were the doctrines of those whom he was persecuting, the *Institutes* served a far greater end. They gave to the world a definite statement of the Reformed Creed, showed clearly the differences between the old teaching and the new, and placed in the hands of both friend and foe a good manual of the new theology. To the Protestant party especially this was an invaluable gain. The atmosphere was cleared, and with a definiteness of outline hitherto unattained, the Reformed Faith stood out before the eyes of men. Throughout the Protestant world the new work was received with delight; and at a bound this young Frenchman of twenty-seven years of age took his place as the Augustine of the Reformation.

3. The Scheme of a Presbyterian Church.—The plan of the *Institutes* follows that of the Apostles' Creed, of which they are avowedly an exposition. In thus claiming the oldest creed of the historic Church as a possession of the Church Reformed, Calvin emphasised the fact that no new organisation was being created by the Reformers, nor was any divorce being made from the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ. The divorce was from the errors and superstitions which a millennium of Roman supremacy had imposed on the Church of early days. The Church of Christ as a divine institution charged with special duties

and the receiver of special blessings, was to Calvin a solemn reality. When, later in his life, he was called to administer the affairs of the Church in Geneva, one of the most pressing of his cares was to be true to the obligations of this solemn trust; and even now, when first systematising the doctrine as to the Church, his great endeavour was to present loyally the picture of what the Church had been in her earliest and purest days. With this aim he took the Bible as his sole guide, and after a careful examination of the Scriptural teaching on the subject, formulated a system of Church organisation which continues to be the basis on which rest the Presbyterian Churches of to-day. The main notes of the system thus formulated are three:—

(1) *The Visibility of the Church as an organised Community.*—On this point Calvin advanced beyond the teaching of Luther and Zwingli. These two earlier Reformers had been so oppressed with a sense of the many errors of the Roman Church—to them the only *visible* Church—that they were content for the most part to emphasise the existence of the *Church Invisible*, and to urge on men the necessity of being in *its* membership. Calvin insisted equally on this need, but went further. He found in the *visible Church* the temporal form and divinely appointed shell of the Church Invisible and Universal, and urged the necessity that all who would be members of the latter should justify their claim by membership in the former. The *Churchly* note which marked the Roman Church passed over to the Presbyterian. "There is no other way of entrance into life," wrote this Presbyterian High-Churchman, "unless we are conceived by her (the Church), born of her, nourished at her breast, and continually preserved under her care and government till we are divested of this mortal flesh and 'become like the angels'" (*Inst.* bk. iv. ch. i. 4).

(2) *The Government of the Church.*—The visibility of the Church as an organised body charged with special duties, rendered necessary a definite system of government. Here again the Scriptures formed the only guide. Calvin found that among the many duties discharged by the Early Church three continued permanent, viz. *Instruction*, *Government*, and *Care of the Poor*; and in like manner, of the many office-bearers serving the Early Church all but three were temporary, these three being *Pastors or Teachers*, *Elders*, and *Deacons*. There was thus a perfect correspondence between the permanent duties and officers, and on this scriptural basis Calvin planned his system. Resting chiefly on 1 Tim. v. 17, where a distinction seemed to him to be drawn between Presbyters who only rule and Presbyters who both rule and teach, he apportioned the work of instruction to the pastor; to him also, in common with a body of Presbyters, "seniors selected from the people," was entrusted the government of the congregation; and to the Deacons was assigned the care of the poor. While claiming scriptural authority for the Presbyterian system thus sketched, Calvin was, however, far from asserting that Presbyterianism was an essential note of the true Church. Other Church systems were recognised as justifiable, though not equally supported by Holy Writ nor so suitable for men.

(3) *The Independence of the Church.*—In her own sphere the Church, according to Calvin's teaching, was independent, subordinate to no earthly ruler, and answerable to Christ alone. As this is a note which has sounded loud in the history of Presbyterianism, so was it struck clearly by the Reformer. Church and State were declared to be two powers appointed by God for the right government of men, the one in things spiritual, the other in things temporal. Closely allied in purpose, they were yet sharply divided in their fields of action, and must in

no wise interfere with each other in their respective spheres. Yet as allies each was bound to serve the other when called upon to do so. Should Church censure fail to affect an offender, the State might be asked to lend the power of the sword; and in like manner was the Church bound loyally to aid the State in all good.

In support of his position, Calvin appealed to the teachings of Scripture, early history, and sound practical reason. Scripture gave him his organisation, early history bore witness to its practice, and common sense approved its wisdom.

4. Presbyterianism a Via Media. — The Church system thus formulated occupied a middle position *between Romanism and Lutheranism*, and sought to avoid the rocks on which these had suffered damage. By the re-establishment of the Eldership in the Church, the rights of the Christian people as distinct from the clergy were preserved, and the growth of an arbitrary rule on the part of the clergy was thereby prevented. Here it was that Calvin's system differed radically from that of Rome. In the Roman Church the voice of the people had been dumb for centuries; their living interest in the Divine Institution had been practically denied; the "Church" had come to mean the "Clergy," and was looked on as a caste organisation. From all similar errors the Church of Calvin was safe, so long as the rule of the Elders continued; and accordingly this is one feature which is always regarded as specially marking the Presbyterian Church. Says Lechler, the historian of early Presbyterianism, "The essential peculiarity of Calvin's conception of the Church and her Constitution is that he demands for the discipline of the Church a government distinct from the civil authority, *specifically spiritual yet not clerical*, but conducted by the elders in conjunction with the pastors." It is noteworthy that this system, which

gives such practical expression to the doctrine of the *Priesthood of Believers*, was not based by Calvin upon that doctrine—an undesigned effect which proves the excellence of the plan.

No less carefully were the evils of *Lutheranism* avoided by the declaration of the Visibility and Independence of the Church. This was the old Roman position re-stated, but safeguarded by an explicit disavowal of any interference on the part of the Church in secular affairs. Rome had erred by elevating the Church above the State in all things, temporal as well as spiritual; Luther had gone to the other extreme and practically converted the Church into a department of the State; Zwingli, with a high idealism, had identified the two, and formed a Civic Church. The result of all three methods had been the secularising of the Church's life; and this result Calvin, by recognising in his system the complete independence of the two bodies in their respective spheres, skilfully sought to avoid.

5. Calvin at Geneva. — If the scheme of Church Government thus sketched was not to end as a devout imagination, a place had to be found where it could be tested by practical application to the life of men. Geneva supplied the need. In this Swiss city of 20,000 inhabitants, the Reformed doctrines had been preached for several years by *Farel*, a vigorous and zealous Frenchman, and in 1535, mainly through his endeavours, Protestantism had been adopted by a vote of the citizens. The Roman Catholic clergy were banished; stringent laws were passed, regulating the manners and morals of the citizens, and the Gospel rule of life was solemnly acknowledged to be binding upon all. There was special need in Geneva for this insistence on the moral side of Christianity, for the city had become notorious for its evil living. But, to his sorrow, Farel found his triumph to be but fleeting. The

enemy was only scotched, not killed. The Libertine party, which had been silenced in the first hours of popular enthusiasm, gradually recovered its ground, and by perverting the doctrine of Christian liberty, was fast regaining for the city its old ill-fame. Farel was dismayed, and was bewailing the destruction of his work, when tidings reached him that John Calvin had arrived in the city, and was intending to stay the night. To the perplexed Reformer, the arrival of the famous theologian was a sign from God. At once he hastened to Calvin's lodging, and, placing before him the circumstances of the city, entreated him to stay and help God's cause. Calvin heard the appeal most unwillingly, for his mind was set on other things. He purposed to hasten on to Strassburg, and there devote himself to those literary employments in which he had already proved himself a master. To yield to Farel's appeal would mean the sacrifice of his most cherished hopes, and so, believing that he could serve the Reformed cause better by his studies than in any other way, he declined the call. But Farel would take no denial. "I tell you," he said, "in answer to this pretence of your studies, in the name of Almighty God, that if you will not devote yourself with us to this work of the Lord, the Lord will curse you as one seeking not Christ so much as himself." "By this imprecation," writes Calvin, "I was so stricken with terror that I desisted from the journey I had undertaken." It was a crisis in the Reformer's life. Henceforward Calvin was a man of action quite as much as of letters.

6. First Conflict with the Civil Power. — Having taken his decision, Calvin set to work with a will, and strove to stem the rising tide of wickedness. At his instigation, the old laws of the city against drunkenness, gambling, immodest dancing, and licentious living were re-enacted. But it was no narrow spirit which prompted

this step. "I do not," he says, "condemn amusements as such: dances and cards are not in themselves evil; but how easily these pleasures succeed in making slaves of those who are addicted to them! Whenever wrong-doing has become an old-established custom, we must avoid every risk of falling back into it." At first no attempt was made at definite Church organisation: purity and uprightness of life, as more important, received the chief attention. But when, in pursuance of this aim, Calvin proceeded to carry out his principle of the Church's independence in her own sphere, and applied ecclesiastical censure to evil-doers, without consulting the civic authorities, there ensued trouble. He declined to admit to the Lord's Table certain notorious evil-livers. To the magistrates this seemed an invasion of their prerogative, and they ordered the Reformers to withdraw the ban. But in vain: Calvin and Farel refused to lower the standard of the Church. It was a refusal which led to an open breach, and, to the delight of the Libertine party, the Reformers were banished from the city (1538). "Well," said Calvin, on hearing the sentence, "so be it; if we had served man this would be a bad return, but we serve a great Master, who will reward us."

7. **Calvin in Exile** (1538-1541).—For the next three years Calvin lived in Strassburg, where he ministered to a Protestant congregation of French refugees, and in his spare moments increased his acquaintance with other prominent leaders of the Reforming movement. Most important was the close friendship he now formed with Melanchthon, who bridged the way between his system and the Lutheran. With the followers of Zwingli also he came to a better understanding, which was helpful for a time in preserving the spiritual unity of Protestant Christendom. But Geneva had not lost sight of him. In his absence from that city the elements of disorder

found opportunity to develop, and lawless scenes came to be of frequent occurrence. The citizens learned by unwelcome experience how great a power for good had lain in that thin slender figure with the pale face and keen dark eyes. His indomitable will and lofty character were regretfully remembered, and at last, when political decline as well as moral degeneracy was imminent, they conquered their pride and invited Calvin to return to their midst. But Calvin shrank from going back to the old conflict. "There is no place in the world," he wrote, "which I so much dread as Geneva." And it was not until to the earnest entreaties of friends there were added the representations of a formal embassy from the Genevan civic authorities, that he at last yielded. But in so doing he took care to lay down certain conditions which in the coming days made his work easier and more fruitful. "If you would have me in your city," he wrote, "you must abolish the prevailing sins of Geneva. . . . I cannot live in the same place with a Church whose discipline is in ruins, and where audacity in evil-doing prevails unpunished." The conditions were granted, and with permission to establish a Church constitution according to his own mind, Calvin re-entered Geneva, amid shouts of welcome, in September 1541.

8. The Presbyterian Church of Geneva.—No time was lost in taking advantage of circumstances so favourable. On the day after his arrival, Calvin requested the Lesser Civic Council to appoint six of its members to assist him and the other ministers of the city in drawing up a definite order of Government for the Church of Geneva. This was done; and the order thus drawn up, after being submitted to the Lesser and Greater Councils, and approved by both, was ratified by the assembly of the people on 20th November 1541. These were the celebrated *Ecclesiastical Ordinances of the Church of Geneva.*

The day of their adoption may be regarded as the birthday of the Modern Presbyterian Churches; and, inasmuch as they decided the constitution of the first Presbyterian Church, they deserve careful attention. From a constitutional as well as a historical point of view, the most important provisions were those dealing with the *offices* and *courts* of the Church:—

(*a*) **The Offices of the Church.**—Four classes of office-bearers were recognised as requisite for the right administration of the Church of Christ. These were—Pastors (also called Bishops, Presbyters, and Ministers), Teachers, Elders, and Deacons. To each office were assigned distinctive duties.

(1) *The Pastors* had as their special duty the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments, while in association with the Elders they had also to see to the right exercise of ecclesiastical discipline. They were to be nominated to their office by the pastors already in the Church, and to be appointed by the State, with the approval of the people.

(2) *The Teachers* were entrusted with the training of the students in pure theology, and the general education of the young of the community.

(3) *The Elders*, fourteen in number, were to be God-fearing men of unstained character, with the oversight of the morals of the community as their special work. In addition to their moral qualifications, they required to be members of one or other of the civic councils, the Lesser Civic Council nominating them with the approval of the pastors, and the Greater Council confirming. Practically they formed a "Civic Committee on Morals," appointed to act along with the pastors of the churches. They were elected to their office at first for a year, at the expiry of which the Lesser Council either discharged them or confirmed them for life.

(4) *The Deacons* were likewise to be men of good character and blameless reputation, and were chosen by the civic authorities. Their work was that of caring for the sick and destitute.

(*b*) **The Courts of the Church.**—While each official had his own special duties assigned to him, all were responsible to the *Consistory*, the supreme court or council of the local church. This court was composed of all the pastors with all the elders, and met weekly under the presidency of one of the syndics or magistrates of the city. To the Consistory, at its weekly meeting, the pastors and elders from the different districts brought reports of any offences which had been committed against the moral law, and judgment was dealt out accordingly. Excommunication was the severest punishment in the power of the court to inflict; but notice of all such sentences had to be sent to the civic authorities, who might, as they saw fit, add civil penalties to the ecclesiastical.

A minor council which was established was the *Venerable Company*. This body, composed of all the pastors of the town, met monthly for the purpose of mutual admonition, and for testing the qualifications of aspirants to the pastorate.

9. Defects of the Ordinances.—In these Ordinances the hand of Calvin is very visible, but clearly visible also is the influence of the State. The *Institutes* had already shown what Calvin would have the Church to be; and in so far as the *Ordinances* differ from the *Institutes*—the Church as realised, from the Church as devised—we can see the extent to which Calvin had to bend to circumstances. The lofty ideal of a Church independent in her own sphere, and co-equal with the State, was too high for the cautious burghers of Geneva; and while granting much to their religious leader, they yet took care to maintain a strong hold over the Church they were establishing.

Their caution is most noticeable in the regulations as to the election of Elders, who were in no respect to be the choice of the congregation, but were to be selected from the Council and by the Council. Only in so far as they were men of Christian character were they representative of the Christian community. And as if still further to maintain its supremacy, the State insisted on the Consistory, the Court of the Church, having as its president a syndic, an officer of the State. These were serious defects; yet, despite their presence, the new Church organisation was a decided advance in the direction of ecclesiastical *independence* over anything the Reformed world had yet seen. In the Consistory, moreover, a court was established which was a real power for good, honestly working for the improvement of the moral life of men; and if in its later career it was guilty of excesses, as it certainly was, yet at first it was an evidence to the world that the Reformed Church aimed at a real reform in the life of her children—that religion with her meant *good living* quite as much as *right thinking*. To Calvin belongs the glory of emphasising this note of the true Church—that she is a power for righteousness.

10. The Church at Work.—Accepting the scheme as a compromise, Calvin immediately proceeded to carry it into effect. The weekly Consistory was established, and showed that it was possessed of real power which it meant to exercise. Vice was so energetically searched out that the moral character of Geneva speedily improved; but, unfortunately, in its desire for a thorough reform the Consistory allowed its zeal to outrun its discretion. Stringent laws were passed regulating the minute details of ordinary life, and civil punishments were attached to ecclesiastical and moral offences, out of all proportion to their gravity. Novel-reading was forbidden, as also many usual accompaniments of the lighter side of social life—singing, dancing,

and the drama. The unjustifiable stringency of the new rules naturally irritated a large section of the people; but so great was the prosperity of the general community that the large majority sided with the Reformer, and the Church grew and prospered. Several struggles there were, severe and critical, but from all the Church emerged victorious. Of these the most tedious in its course and the most dangerous in its crisis was the renewal of the old fight with the Council as to the right of the Church to inflict the penalty of excommunication without consulting the civil powers. For seven years the matter was debated more or less actively, the Council insisting on an excommunicated member being restored to membership, and Calvin in the name of the Consistory refusing. Opinions on the subject were asked from the leading teachers of Protestant Christendom, who, without exception, supported Calvin; and finally, in 1557, the struggle ended in his favour by the Greater Council giving a decision which established the spiritual independence of the Genevan Church. The notice of excommunication, which the Ordinances had directed to be sent by the Consistory to the Lesser Council, was recognised as in no respect conferring authority on the Council to revise the Consistory's decision but merely as information for guidance, in the event of civil penalties being deemed desirable.

11. Growth of the Church's Independence.—The hard-won victory was carefully followed up. Now that the independence of the Consistory in the exercise of spiritual discipline had been acknowledged, Calvin sought to have removed from the Church's procedure whatever forms or customs implied subordination to the civil power. Chief of these was the presence in the Consistory, as official president, of one of the syndics with his staff of office. From the first this arrangement had been obnoxious

to Calvin, but it was one of the many things he bore with because of the hardness of the time, and now when the times had improved his patience was rewarded. Recognising the incongruity of the custom, the Greater Council in 1560 directed that in future a syndic be not, *as such*, president of the Consistory; but that, in the event of one of the two elders chosen from the Lesser Council being a syndic, he be the president—as an elder, however, and not as a syndic. It was again a compromise, but this time the gain was on this side of the Church.

In like manner the other grievance of the mode of *Election of Elders* was considerably redressed. The initial choice remained as before with the Council, but there was now added as a necessary accompaniment the approval of the congregation. In this way, by a steady, patient struggle lasting many years, was gained the acknowledgment of the Church as an independent organisation, closely allied with the State but ruled over by officers approved by herself. Step by step the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* were brought into correspondence with the plan first sketched in the *Institutes*, the growing influence of the great Reformer making the modification easier of accomplishment. And with great benefit to Geneva was this influence exercised. From being noted for profligacy the city became renowned for virtue. Its trade revived and its population largely increased; and in testimony of its moral condition the evidence of John Knox, who lived here from 1555 to 1559, may well be quoted. "In my heart," he wrote to a friend, "I could have wished, yea and cannot cease to wish, that it might please God to guide and conduct yourself to this place, where I neither fear nor eshame to say is the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth since the days of the Apostles. In other places I confess Christ to be truly preached; but manners and religion to be so

sincerely reformed I have not yet seen in any other place beside."

12. The Blot on the Genevan Church.—With so much that is fair and praiseworthy in the Genevan Church of Calvin, it is not to be wondered at that there should be a reverse side to the picture. In this case the reverse shows intolerance, with persecution as its result. The excessive censorship over the morals of the citizens, and the infliction of civil punishments for breaches of the very strict ecclesiastical code, were without doubt blemishes on Calvin's rule; and though it may be pleaded in extenuation that they were faults resulting from an excess of virtue, yet faults they must remain. But great though these errors of intolerance were, they pale in the general estimation before the intolerance which sent to the stake, for errors of belief, *Michael Servetus* in the year 1553. Of this action Calvin approved. Servetus in his book *The Errors of the Trinity*, had lampooned the Christian doctrine of the Godhead, and in a later publication had boldly advanced pantheistic views of the universe. A spirit of bravado seems to have brought him to Geneva, where he was arrested, and after a protracted trial, in which he shocked his judges' ears with blasphemies, was condemned to be burned at the stake. In the prosecution Calvin took an active part, and though he tried to have the mode of death altered to one less painful, yet to the sentence of death he consented. Sorely has his memory had to atone for his unchristian severity; yet in passing condemnation on the deed, it has to be borne in mind that not Calvin only but the whole Protestant Church of his day, including men like Bullinger and the mild Melanchthon, approved of the action. Not yet had the day of liberty of conscience fully dawned.

13. The Academy of Geneva.—Against Calvin's zeal for the suppression of the false teaching are to be placed

his efforts for the dissemination of the true. Of these the founding of the famous Academy of Geneva was the greatest and most fruitful. By his books, pamphlets, and general correspondence he acted all his life as the spiritual guide of the Reformed Churches, keeping in touch with the leaders of the movement in every European country. But a more permanent agency for teaching the Reformed doctrine was seen to be required, and accordingly in 1558 there was founded in Geneva the famous Theological Academy, with *Theodore Beza* as its first rector. Calvin acted as one of the lecturers in addition to his many other duties, and with him were associated other teachers of ability. The response of Protestantism was great and immediate. In the first year of the Academy's existence 800 students of different nationalities were enrolled. From France, Holland, Germany, England, and Scotland they flocked to Geneva, and drank in eagerly the teaching they received. They became filled with admiration of the Church System and Life which they saw, and on their return to their own lands laboured by speech and action to establish Genevan thought and ways amongst their own peoples. Thus the Genevan Church became the mother of many.

14. Calvin's Work. — On 27th May 1564 Calvin died, full of honours though not of years. His life had been comparatively a short one — only fifty-five years — but in lasting results few lives can compare with his. Alike as a teacher and an organiser, he holds a prominent place, possessing the peculiar merit of having combined in himself excellence in both departments. To this combination is mainly due the greatness and enduring character of his work. The legacy which he left to the world may be described as threefold, and was the gift partly of the theologian, partly of the organiser. It comprised—

(1) *An Elevating Theology.*—At the basis of his teaching was the great doctrine of the *Sovereignty of God* over all men and things. The direct responsibility of every man to his Divine Sovereign was so emphasised that men became impressed with the holy fear of God, which cast out all other fear. The doctrine of Election, which is the point in Calvin's theology most objected to, is but the logical sequence of the Divine Sovereignty, and in its application to life helped greatly to harden the moral fibre of the men of the time. To men who felt themselves to be called by God, and predestined to a certain work, the first and last duty was to accomplish the work and fulfil the destiny. Teaching such as this ennobled all who received it, lifted them out of the temporal into relations with the eternal, and encouraged them to work or suffer, live or die in the cause of their Almighty King.

(2) *A Church for the people*—because *of* the people.—The new dignity which had been conferred on men by their direct relationship and responsibility to God found expression in the new place accorded them in the organisation of the Church. No longer were they to be ruled over by priests, but, as themselves priests unto God, they were to regulate and direct the God-appointed institution. As the theology had called for a higher life in the individual, so the doctrine concerning the Church ensured a higher life in the community. The Church was henceforth to be the care of all.

(3) *A Centre from which Presbyterianism might radiate.*—This was the legacy of the man of action. Other teachers had emphasised the Sovereignty of God and the Priesthood of Believers, but Calvin did more. He embodied these truths in actual form, and in the small city of Geneva, by a life of ceaseless action, planted firmly a living Church, where God's Sovereignty was ranked above the sovereignty of man, and where the popular voice was

heard in the administration of the Church. From Geneva the sound of the new movement went out into all the world, and from the Church there established the greater part of Protestantism took its shape. In this respect Calvin's work stands in striking contrast to the subsequent history of the work of the German Reformer Luther. Wide indeed was Luther's influence as a Christian teacher, but as a Church organiser it scarcely went beyond the frontiers of the Fatherland. On the other hand, the scheme of Church government re-discovered and re-established by Calvin passed far beyond the walls of Geneva, was welcomed by France, the Reformer's native land, then by Holland, the Rhine Palatinate, Scotland, Ireland,—and is now world-wide.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN FRANCE

Ere ever Germany had been roused by the voice of Luther, the Reformation had begun in France. Thither, as to other lands, the New Learning came, paving the way to reform by leading men to the study of the New Testament, and thereby exposing the errors of the existing Church. In 1509 Lefèvre, the scholarly pioneer of French Protestantism, published a Commentary on the Psalms, and three years later a Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, in both of which works thoroughly Protestant and Evangelical views were advanced. The reception was most cordial. Ardent evangelists like Farel, and earnest ecclesiastics like Briconnet, Bishop of Meaux, eagerly welcomed the new teaching, and laboured to disseminate it,—with the result that by 1515 the Reforming movement was fairly started.

1. Early Years of the Reformation.—For a time the movement prospered marvellously. Royalty, in the person of Francis I., smiled encouragingly on this development of the New Learning, of which he was a zealous patron; and the authorities of the Roman Church, regarding it as but an amiable weakness, gave themselves little trouble concerning it. For ten years, thus favoured through ignorance, the new teaching spread, but when Luther spoke to Christendom, the Roman Church in France awoke to a

sense of the danger. What had hitherto been winked at as a strange vagary was declared to be rank heresy. The King was won over to the side of the persecutors, and from 1535 the Protestants of France were a proscribed race. Heresy was made a capital crime, and martyrdoms grew common. Nor did Francis's death in 1547 bring any relief; for, under his successor Henry II., the stake and the faggot continued the favourite method of "propagating the faith." Yet, despite the persecution, the leaven spread, and in the spreading of it no agency was so active as the Church of Calvin at Geneva. The son whom France had exiled now heaped blessings on his fatherland. By countless letters and willing messengers, the suffering Protestants were helped to endure; and, though no congregation was as yet formed, the Reformed Faith made steady progress.

2. The First Congregation formed.—Amid surroundings so adverse to organisation, the first congregation of the Presbyterian Church was formed. Passing strange was the manner of its formation. One September evening in 1555, a small company of Protestants in Paris met secretly for prayer and Scripture reading in the house of La Ferrière, a Frenchman of noble birth. La Ferrière was found to be in great perplexity. A child had been born to him, and he knew not how to arrange as to the baptism. Geneva was the nearest Church organised on Reformed principles with a settled pastorate, but to Geneva he could not go; nor could he "for conscience sake" suffer his child to be baptized in the Roman Catholic Church, and yet he was most unwilling to forgo the sacramental rite. In his dilemma he appealed to those present to elect one of their number to be their pastor, who could then administer the sacrament to the child. It was a novel and decisive step to which he urged them, and the company hesitated to take it; but

when the father declared that in the event of the child dying unbaptized they would be answerable to God, they consented, and there and then was organised the first congregation of the Reformed Church of France. From Geneva most of the company had derived their faith, and the Genevan model of Church order was naturally adopted. To the pastorate they called La Rivière, a young man of noble birth who had forsaken home and friends on account of his religion, had been trained at Geneva, and had there joined the Reformed Church. Elders and deacons were also chosen and a regular Consistory formed. Truly may it be said of the Church of France, "a little child shall lead them." The effect of this step among the scattered Protestants of the country was marvellous. Everywhere they responded to the signal. At Meaux, Angers, Poitiers, Bourges, Tour, Orleans, congregations were formed on a Presbyterian basis, and soon the whole country was dotted over with regularly organised churches. Within three years from the formation of the first congregation in Paris there were over 2000 throughout France.

3. The National Synod.—The rapid growth of the Church was attended with some important consequences. One was the dismay of the Roman Catholic party. So long as the Protestants remained isolated individuals it had been possible to believe them a feeble folk, but when organised into communities their strength became apparent. The meetings of the congregations, though held in secret, were well known to their enemies, and their power was better estimated. The royal view also altered. Henry now saw in the Protestants not merely a heretical sect but a political danger, and set about preparing what he intended to be a fatal blow to the whole Calvinistic stock. The Church's growth had increased her danger.

But it did more. It led to a further development of the Presbyterian principle, and a consequent strengthening

of the Church's constitution. In Geneva, with its four congregations and limited area, one common consistorial court had been sufficient for the Church's needs; but in the wider area of France, with congregations numbering 2000, the same organisation was insufficient. Neither common discipline nor real unity could thus be secured, and soon the need of some further development forced itself on the minds of many. At Poitiers the matter was first broached. Hither Antoine Chandieu, one of the pastors of the Paris Church, had gone, in the end of 1558, to assist at the communion, and had discussed with the pastors of the district the state and prospects of the Church. All felt the need of some higher authority, which would give unity to the congregations and a common creed to the Church. The power of the individual congregations was so great that for its right use definite lines and set limits were seen to be required, and yet only a higher authority could impose such. So strong was the feeling that Chandieu was empowered to consult with the community at Paris whether some definite steps might not be taken. The Paris Church at once took action. Invitations were forwarded to the sister congregations throughout the land, asking them to send delegates to a conference to be held in Paris, for the consideration of the needs of the Church. In response to the invitations 150 members assembled secretly in a private house in the Faubourg St. Germain, on 26th May 1559, and constituted what was afterwards known as the *First National Synod*. It was a noteworthy gathering, both by reason of the work it accomplished and the heroic faith it evinced. The delegates met "in defiance of almost certain death," at a moment when the powers of the land were planning to sweep the Reformed Church off the face of the earth. Yet, with a calm trust in God and a firm faith in the future of their cause, they proceeded to lay the foundation on

which the Reformed Church of France has since then rested.

4. The Work of the Synod.—Its work was to give to the Reformed congregations scattered throughout France a *Creed* and a *Constitution*. In both departments Calvin was their teacher. His was the theology, as well as the actual draft of the *Confessio Gallica* there framed, and his, too, so far as circumstances allowed, was the constitution adopted. What differences there were resulted either from the necessary severance of Church from State, or from the greater size of the Church in France. The one circumstance caused a variation in the mode of electing elders, while the other led to a great development of the Presbyterian system, which has been copied by all later Presbyterian Churches. There were also slight modifications in the office and position of the deacons.

Three classes of officers were recognised as having authority over each congregation—the pastor, elders, and deacons. These in common council formed the Consistory. In the Genevan Church deacons had no seat in the Consistory, but in the French Church, their office being accounted a spiritual one, a seat was accorded them along with the pastor and elders. Likewise in the mode of choosing office-bearers there was a variation from the Genevan practice. On the first formation of a congregation all office-bearers were to be elected by the vote of the people, but later vacancies were to be filled by the choice of the Consistory. To this "aristocratic" principle French Presbyterianism long strictly adhered, although not without many a struggle on the part of individual congregations for a more popular mode. So far the Assembly had done little more than affirm the congregational constitution already existing, but its next step was to bind these congregations together. Graded *Councils* or *Synods* were devised similar to those now existing in all Presbyterian Churches.

(1) *Provincial Synods*, one for each province, consisting of all the pastors with an elder or deacon from each congregation, were directed to meet twice a year to decide appeals from congregations, effect transfers of pastors from one charge to another, where such seemed desirable, and generally to exercise complete administrative power over the churches of the province.

(2) *General Synods*, representing the whole Church, with delegates from each Consistory, were to be summoned in case of special need, with full authority over all.

Manifest defects and omissions in the scheme thus adopted were rectified by later Synods, which by interposing a council between the Consistory and the Provincial Synod, named the *Colloque* (the Presbytery of the Scottish Church), and by drawing the delegates to the General Synod from the Provincial Synods instead of from the Consistories, completed the conciliar system of Church Government. This regular series of Councils, Consistory, Colloque, Provincial Synod, and National Synod gave to the Reformed Church of France a compactness and unity which were to prove of great value in the troubled period of its history now to begin. Hitherto the Church had lived apart from the world, and, alone with God, had increased in faith; henceforth she was to be tried in the political arena, and for this new experience Providence was preparing her by strengthening her bonds of unity.

5. **The Reformed Church in Politics.**—The year 1559 was a momentous one for the Church. Not only did she then adopt a settled constitution—a fact which gained for her adherents the name Huguenots (*Eid-genossen*, or oath-comrades)—but then for the first time did she, like the sister Church in Scotland at the same period, become linked with one of the parties in the State. The union resulted from the success of the movement among the aristocracy of France. The Huguenots now included in

their number the leaders of the Bourbons, one of the two great political parties—Anthony, King of Navarre, his brother Louis, Duke of Condé, and Admiral Coligny. It was unavoidable that the adherence of such men to the Reformed Church should give her a political character. Nor were the Huguenots unwilling to accept the situation. They saw troubles looming in the future, and were glad to have for their leaders men of mark and political power. The sudden death of Henry II. in 1559 made the division of parties more distinct. To the throne succeeded Francis II., a weak youth of sixteen years of age, whose one redeeming point was his devotion to his wife, Mary Stuart. This devotion unfortunately only made him the more willing a tool of her family, the Guises, who to their thirst for power added an extreme devotion to the Roman Church. With the King in their hands, the Guises, in the persons of the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, were all-powerful, and made no secret of their intention to proceed speedily against the Huguenots. An abortive conspiracy at Amboise, in which some Huguenots had engaged, supplied them with their opportunity, when the slaughter of over a thousand Huguenots testified to their zeal. Further measures of complete extermination were resolved upon and just about to be taken, when death again entered the royal house and made the persecutors pause. In the death of Francis, Calvin, who was watching the progress of events from Geneva, saw clearly the hand of a watchful Providence. "Did you ever read or hear," he writes, "anything more opportune than the death of the King? The evils had reached an extremity from which there was no remedy, when suddenly God shows Himself from Heaven."

6. **Catherine de Medici.**—The death of Francis brought to the front the Queen-mother, Catherine de Medici, who was recognised as the guardian of the next king, Charles IX.,

then a boy of ten years of age. She found herself confronted with two powerful parties, each a danger to the throne, but, fortunately for her, hostile to each other and separated by the double gulf of politics and religion. Her policy was at once decided. It was an unblushing opportunism. From the beginning to the end of her rule she played off the one party against the other, Huguenot and Bourbon against Romanist and Guise, favouring each as occasion required, but never allowing either to get complete victory. On her accession to the regency her first step was in favour of the Huguenots, the growing power of the Guises being in need of a check. Huguenots imprisoned for their heresy were released, and toleration of the Reformed Faith was proclaimed. Other concessions followed; but of the conciliatory steps taken at the time the most important was undoubtedly the summoning of the *Conference of Poissy* (1561) of Huguenots and Romanists, for the consideration of the religious affairs of the country. It met under the most favourable auspices, in the presence of the young King, the Queen-mother, the King of Navarre, and the flower of the French aristocracy. For the Roman Catholic side appeared the Cardinals and Bishops of the Roman Church; while chief of the representatives of the Reformed Faith was the scholarly and cultured Beza. The Huguenots were fortunate in their representative. To his great abilities Beza added a refinement of manner and a social courtesy which gained for him the admiration of his opponents. When addressing the Conference on the Reformed positions he carried his hearers with him for a time, but the divergence of view on a point so fundamental as the Eucharist was too extreme for compromise. "Would to God that man had been dumb, or that we had all been deaf," said the Cardinal of Lorraine, when Beza had concluded. It was but a polite tribute to his eloquence.

The Conference ended with each side unconvinced.

Yet it was not altogether fruitless. The Huguenot party gained in prestige, and the cause of tolerance, though not of union, was advanced. In 1562 the *Edict of St. Germain* was issued, granting to the Huguenots permission to meet for worship outside the towns, on condition of giving up the churches they had seized. Meagre enough the measure seems, but by the leading Protestants it was welcomed. "If we have our religion," said Coligny, "what more do we want"; while to Calvin it seemed the beginning of the end. "If the liberty promised us in edict last," he wrote, "the papacy will fall to the ground of itself."

7. The Drawing of the Sword.—The condition attached to Calvin's prophecy was not fulfilled. Stinted though the measure of toleration was, it was too liberal for the fanatical party of the Guises, and they immediately set to work to render it fruitless. Anthony of Navarre, whose Protestantism had been rather political than religious, was won over to their side by fair promises. His noble queen, Jeanne of Navarre, was more steadfast. "If I had my kingdom in one hand and my son in the other," she said, "I would cast both into the sea rather than go to mass." It was fortunate for the Protestants that she was so resolute, as in her hands lay the training of their future leader, her son, Henry IV. But the defection of her husband was a great blow. His adhesion to the Guisian party emboldened them to enter on a massacre of Huguenots throughout the country. Beginning at Vassy on a Sunday morning in March 1562, when the Huguenots were at public worship, the slaughter rapidly extended to other towns. Thousands were slain, the dead in Toulouse alone numbering 3000.

8. The Wars of Religion.—In self-defence the Protestants were forced to take up arms, and for thirty years France was one great battle-field. Short periods of truce there were, each marked by treaties of agreement, made

only to be broken. Passion ran high on both sides, and excesses were frequent. Both Huguenots and Roman Catholics were guilty of shameful deeds, which can only be explained by the blindness of religious fanaticism or the fury of revenge. For the Reformed Church it was a most unhappy time. Martyrdoms for the faith were frequent, but more hurtful than these was the secularising effect of a long-continued warfare, in which political interests so largely mingled. Into the details of the nine wars which made up the thirty years' conflict we cannot enter here. Only the outstanding events can be given. For leaders in the early years of the struggle the Huguenot party had the famous *Admiral Coligny*, whose blameless life and sagacious leadership mark him as the first man of his age in France; and the *Prince of Condé*, a daring soldier but political in his Protestantism. Against them, leading the Roman Catholic troops, were the *Duke of Guise*, the first soldier of his day, and the honest but bigoted *Montmorenci*. From the beginning of the struggle the fortunes of war went against the Huguenots, yet so stubbornly was the contest waged that the conquered party were able at each truce to extort terms of toleration. The most favourable were those obtained at the close of the third war, when, on the fatal field of *Jarnac*, Condé was slain and the Huguenots utterly routed. The complete triumph of the Guises seemed to the Queen-mother now so imminent that she insisted on peace being concluded, which was accordingly done by the *Treaty of St. Germain* (1569). Liberty of worship was granted in all towns save Paris, and as a security to the Huguenots they were put in possession of four fortified towns — La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité. As a guarantee of good faith this measure was satisfactory, but it had the evil effect of marking off more distinctly than ever Huguenot from Romanist, and making the fate

of Protestantism dependent on the force of arms. The Huguenots were now a nation within a nation, possessing fortresses and armies of their own.

At first, however, no evil consequences appeared. The Protestant cause again came into royal favour, and, in order to finally end the wars of religion, Catherine arranged a marriage between her daughter Margaret and the Protestant chief, Henry of Navarre. The aged Coligny was invited to Court, and made so deep an impression on the young King Charles that daily intercourse with the old Huguenot became his chief delight. But for Coligny and the cause he loved it proved a fatal fondness. Keen misgivings arose in the mind of Catherine, who saw in the strange attachment the undermining of her influence over her son, and at once her feelings towards Coligny and the Huguenots underwent a change. The Guises and her son Henry were quick to seize the opportunity, and fanned the flame of her resentment so sedulously, that in an evil hour a general massacre of the Huguenots was decreed. The time was opportune. Paris was crowded with Huguenots of rank and influence, who had gathered for the wedding of their young prince, Henry of Navarre, so that a massacre at such an hour would extinguish, it was hoped, Protestantism in France for ever.

9. St. Bartholomew's Day.—Shortly before the dawn of St. Bartholomew's Day, 24th August 1572, the great bell of the cathedral of St. Germain began to toll. It was the preconcerted signal to the Guisian party to commence the work of slaughter, and thoroughly they did it. Distinguished by a white band on the arm and a white cross on the hat—strange emblems for such a work—the murderers scoured through the city, sacking every Protestant house and murdering every Protestant they found. Neither age nor sex was spared. The aged Coligny was

among the first to fall. Roused from sleep by his murderers, and still weak from the effects of a recent wound, his courage failed not. "Save yourselves, my friends," he cried to his attendants; "all is over with me. I have long been ready to die." For seven days the cruel work of sack and slaughter went on, by which time it was thought the purgation was complete. Then the other towns in France followed suit, and before the lust for blood was satisfied 70,000 Huguenots had perished.

When the tidings reached Rome the greatest rejoicings prevailed. By command of the Pope a *Te Deum* was sung, the city illuminated, and a medal struck in honour of the glorious victory. The Spanish Court shared in the rejoicing, but elsewhere horror at the deed was uppermost. In England the feeling of execration was intense, as was also the case in Scotland, where the Reformed Church was now firmly established. John Knox was fast nearing his end when the tidings came, but he summoned strength sufficient to ascend the pulpit of St. Giles' and give voice to the feeling of Scotland's Church against "that cruel murderer and false traitor, the King of France."

10. Result of the Massacre.—Atrocious as a deed, the massacre as a stroke of policy proved a failure. Says the Abbé Crillon, a Roman Catholic historian of the time, "The Court thought to drown Calvinism in the blood of its defenders, but that hydra resumed new vigour." And so it proved. Protestantism had lost grievously in numbers and in its men of note, but from a political point of view its position was strengthened. The Guises had overshot the mark. Their ambition and bloodthirstiness excited such suspicion and aversion in all the moderate Roman Catholics that a split in the Roman Catholic party resulted. The Moderates, who were known as the *Politicals*, separated from the Extremists, and showed a tendency to join hands with the Huguenots, who,

though reduced in numbers, were still a compact party, and retained in their hands several important towns. Coligny had indeed gone, but in his place they had *Henry of Navarre*, a young leader of great courage, indomitable will, and much astuteness. In religious zeal and convictions he fell far behind the old admiral, and on that black Bartholomew's Day, when he was in the power of the persecutors, had temporarily resiled from his Protestantism, but as a political and military leader he was unsurpassed. Fifty thousand men were now at his back, not indeed all Protestants nor sympathisers with Protestantism —political discontent and love of fighting had drawn many to his side—but still, with such a force, representing as it did all the Protestantism and a large part of the Roman Catholicism of France, much might be done. So apparent was this to Catherine and the new king, Henry III., that they came to terms, and in 1576 a favourable peace was concluded. The memory of Coligny and the other Huguenot leaders was declared to be vindicated from all dishonourable charges; religious toleration was granted in all places outside Paris; courts of justice for the trial of Protestants were established, where the judges were equally divided as to religion; and eight towns were left as security of good faith in Protestant hands.

11. The Holy League.—Toleration always had the same effect on the extreme Roman Catholic party as persecution worked upon the Huguenots. They were stimulated to greater zeal. No sooner was the treaty signed than there sprang into existence what was known as *The Holy League*. The Guisian party and the Jesuits entered into an alliance with Spain, with the definite aim of destroying every trace of heresy in France. The Pope gave his blessing, and so overawed was Henry III. by the magnitude and sanctity of the union, that he repented of his tolerance, and plunged France once more into civil

war. Fears and fightings make up the story of the next five years, the fears leading to assassinations and the fightings resulting in varying success. The climax drew on in 1588, when the chiefs of the house of Guise were assassinated by order of the King, who was fearful of their over-success. The crime brought its own punishment. One year later the royal murderer was himself assassinated by a Dominican monk in the camp of his rival, Henry of Navarre, where he had fled for safety.

12. **Henry IV.**—His death left Henry of Navarre heir to the throne of France, but a fatal obstacle in the way was the new king's religion. The moderate Roman Catholics, who had sided with him while he was fighting for political rights and religious toleration, shrank from seeing a Huguenot on the throne. Paris closed its gates against a heretic monarch; and the Guisian party, though defeated at Ivry, where the King's white plume had led the way, was by no means dead. Henry was in a dilemma. On the one side was recantation of his faith, which would bring peace to the Huguenots and prosperity to France; and on the other was steadfastness to the Huguenot cause, which would entail a renewal of war and desolation. The former alternative was chosen. The struggle in the King's mind was with honour rather than with religion, but the thought of the lasting benefits he could as monarch confer on both country and co-religionists decided him. On 20th July 1593 Henry was admitted into the Roman Catholic Church. With the acknowledgment of his sovereignty all persecution for religion's sake ceased throughout the land, and in 1598, by the issue of the *Edict of Nantes*, the Magna Charta of French Protestantism, religious liberty was secured. Public worship after the Reformed manner was granted with more or less restriction in all places save Paris and a few other towns, which remained strongly Romanist. The Roman Catholic Church continued to

be the established Church of the country, and accordingly tithes had to be paid and Church festivals observed by men of all religions, but no longer was the Reformed religion to be a bar to civil or political privileges. In the hands of the Huguenots were left the towns and fortresses which they possessed the year before the promulgation of the Edict.

13. The Reformed Church during the Wars.—It was high time that peace should come, for the thirty years of war had sadly interfered with the growth of the Church. The number of her congregations had been reduced from 2150 to 763, and in spiritual life there had been almost equally great declension. The absence of many members in the field had told heavily on the finances of local congregations, and as a consequence poverty pressed upon the pastors. The change of leaders too, from Coligny, with his deep earnest religion, to Henry, with his laxness of life and indifference in religion, was not without its effect upon the followers.

Fortunately the framework of the Church, which had been constructed at the Secret Synod of Paris in 1559, had been in the interval carefully attended to. Fifteen national Synods had met during the course of the wars, receiving reports from the various districts, and learning by experience the needs of the Church. Of these Synods the most important was that which met at *La Rochelle* in 1571, when, for a brief space, the royal favour was extended to the Reformed cause. Summoned by letters patent from the King, the Synod had as its moderator the accomplished Beza, and was graced with the presence of the Queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, and her son, the future Henry IV. The original Constitution and Creed agreed to at the first Synod in Paris were now revised and confirmed, and Presbyterianism was again formally adopted as the polity of the Church.

14. Peace and Prosperity.—"I can never use them ill—I must always love them," Henry had said of the Huguenots at the time of his "conversion" to Romanism. He was true to his word. The Edict of Nantes, much though it was disliked by the Romanist party, was faithfully kept. Pope Clement VIII. in his indignation had written to the King that "a decree which gave liberty of conscience to all was the most accursed that had ever been made," but the royal promise was not broken, and the Church had rest. The first effect of the peace was a salutary, though sad, purging away of many half-hearted members. Not a few of the more aristocratic Huguenots, following the example of the King, transferred their allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church; but those who remained, being of one heart and one mind, only set themselves the more resolutely to consolidate their system. An annual grant of 43,000 crowns from the State treasury had been allotted to the Protestant Church, and with part of this sum two *Theological Colleges* were now established in *Montauban* and *Saumur*. Henceforth it would not be needful, as till now had been the case, to resort to Geneva, Strassburg, and elsewhere for the training of pastors. The Church could now train her own. The remainder of the State grant was devoted to augmentation of the salaries of the poorer clergy — a much-needed assistance. Yet as years passed the need grew less, for though the members of the Church increased but slowly in number, their wealth grew rapidly greater. By the enlightened policy of the King arts and manufactures were greatly fostered, and to his endeavours no portion of the community responded so heartily as did the Huguenots.

15. Gathering Clouds.—A rude shock was given to all hopes of an abiding peace by the assassination of Henry in the seventeenth year of his reign (1610) at the hands of a fanatical Roman Catholic. At once the Huguenots

scented danger. "We are going to fall under the yoke of Spain and the Jesuits," remarked Sully, Henry's Protestant prime minister; "the Protestants will not enjoy tranquillity long." The young king, *Louis XIII.*, who succeeded, was still a minor and under the charge of his mother, a niece of Catherine de Medici, and at his side was the able Jesuit priest, later known as *Cardinal Richelieu*, who throughout Louis' reign completely controlled the policy of the State. Although a priest, Richelieu was before all things a statesman, and his main efforts were directed in the interests of the State. His policy was one of concentration of all power in the hands of the crown. Any power or semblance of power existing apart from the crown was noted with jealous eyes, and accordingly the Protestant community, with its fortresses and regular assemblies, became very early an object of aversion. An expedition against the Protestants of the Pyrenean Province of Bearn was the first clear intimation of what was coming. A ruthless massacre resulted in the suppression of the Protestant Church, which had been dominant in Bearn for sixty years, and in the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic. The Protestant towns in the south of France became alarmed and closed their gates against the royal arms, but had their alarm dispelled by a fresh declaration in the King's name of the Edict of Nantes. As a security, however, against conspiracy being fostered under the cloak of religion, the Synods of the Church were required to admit to their meetings a *Royal Commissioner* of their own Faith, whose duty was to see that only ecclesiastical concerns were discussed (1623). Soon this precaution was found insufficient, and upon the advice of Richelieu it was decided to take possession of the free city of La Rochelle, the citadel of French Protestantism. The refusal of the Rochellese to abandon a religious assembly at the royal command was put forward as the

reason of the obdurate siege which then commenced. The besieged held out with great valour and dogged determination until starvation and disease had carried off more than twenty thousand of their number. Then after a year's siege they yielded, and a city of corpses was handed over to the King. Richelieu, who had conducted the siege in person, entered in triumph and celebrated high mass in the cathedral in honour of his victory. The political power of Protestantism in France was dead (1628). Thereupon Richelieu's plans for the uprooting of heresy underwent a change. The sword was laid aside and the more subtle weapons of bribery, flattery, and worldly advancement adopted in its stead. The right of public worship was still granted, but the *Provincial Synods* were suppressed. It was thought that, when thus isolated, the Protestant pastors and communities would more easily succumb; and though the majority continued firm, with a considerable minority the device worked well. Nobles bartered their religion for high offices of State, and pastors were induced to see the truth of Romanism when associated with higher pay. "Do you believe in transubstantiation?" said the King to the Duke de Lesdiguières. "Yes," replied the Duke. "Then," said the King, "you are to be Constable of France—come, let us go to mass."

16. Louis XIV. and Mazarin.—To Louis XIII. and Richelieu succeeded, in 1643, Louis XIV. and Mazarin. In the civil wars of the earlier years of Louis' reign the Protestants wisely took no part. Not again were they to mingle in civil politics. While their countrymen were fighting as to who should reign, they remained at their work, building up what should have been a mighty trade for France, had France been wise. And Mazarin was not blind to the advantages accruing to the country from their industry. "I have no complaint to make against the

little flocks," he said; "if they browse on bad herbage, they do not wander into bad paths." Their industry was aided by their honesty. "Honest as a Huguenot" became a proverb, and so widespread was their reputation that by far the greater part of the foreign trade with France came into their hands. Had Mazarin continued at the helm there is good reason to believe that this prosperity would have continued. But in 1661 he died, and Louis fell more and more under the control of men of narrower policy and more bigoted minds. From the beginning of his career the King had disliked the Protestants and their meetings, and from time to time had shown his dislike by passing irritating laws. In 1657 the Colloques had been suppressed, and two years later, at the *Synod of Loudun*, held by permission of Mazarin, the Royal Commissioner had informed the members that no future Synod would be held unless the King considered it expedient. When the time came for the next Synod the King did *not* consider it expedient. The Courts of the Church were closed.

17. The Bursting of the Cloud.—With the compulsory closing of the Courts of the Church it became easier for the oppressor to do his work. He had now to deal with individuals in place of an organised community, and the old method of bribery was at first resorted to. But soon severer measures of repression were adopted. The King was urged on by *Madame de Maintenon*, the grand-daughter of the pious D'Aubigny, but herself a Roman Catholic, and the governess of the King's children. With her the King was infatuated, and at her elbow with his evil suggestions was a bitter enemy of Protestantism, *Père la Chaise*. Between them they fanned the King's hatred of the Huguenots into flame, which ever and again burst out in the form of a more obnoxious order. Protestants were declared ineligible for all higher callings and all offices of

State. Conversion to Protestantism was made a crime punishable with perpetual banishment, while conversion to Romanism was a virtue to be rewarded. For a Protestant pastor to speak to one of his flock who had lapsed meant death. Protestant children were freely kidnapped by Roman Catholic priests, and the parents had no redress. In 1681 still harsher measures were adopted. Squadrons of dragoons were sent into the Protestant districts, and there quartered on Protestant families. Brutal and immoral as many of them were, the suffering caused to the hapless families by their presence may be imagined. Pillage, outrage, and murder were of daily occurrence, the King's "booted missionaries," as he termed them, proving very apt in the art of forcible conversion. So excessive was the persecution and so hopeless the outlook, that a steady stream of emigration set in. Thousands of Protestants, gathering together all their property that they could lay hands on, hastened to leave the country. To stop the stream, emigration without the King's permission was made a penal offence, but not before 50,000 Protestants had escaped. Finally, on 22*nd October* 1685, the blow fell. The *Edict of Nantes*, long broken in a hundred ways, was formally *revoked*, and Protestantism again declared a proscribed religion in France. By this enactment all Protestant pastors were ordered to leave France within fifteen days; all Protestant temples (as the churches were termed) were to be destroyed; Protestant schools were to be closed, and the children of Protestants, after being baptized by the Roman Catholic priests, were to be trained in the Roman Catholic faith; and should any Protestants be caught trying to escape from France, they were to be condemned, the men to the galleys, the women to prison for the rest of their life. Seven months later the penalty was altered to *death*. Truly at a terrible cost has the Reformed Church of France earned the title

"Church of the Cross"! Death or exile were the alternatives now facing the faithful. Whoever could choose exile did so, but many to whom flight was impossible and "conversion" abhorrent died a martyr's death; and many more, in the endeavour to escape, were arrested and put to death. But the frontier of France was too extensive for efficient guarding, and by every possible route, in every conceivable disguise, the Huguenots streamed out of the country. Heart-rending are the tales of the sufferings endured by the women and children in their efforts to escape, but all suffering was counted cheap if only the frontier could be passed. Over a quarter of a million Protestants escaped and found a refuge in England, Holland, Germany, Ireland, and America. It was a deathblow to Protestantism in France, from which the Protestant Church has never recovered; but France did not go unpunished for her cruelty, for the same blow shattered her commercial greatness. The Huguenots who fled were the most skilled artisans of the country, and they took their art with them to bless the countries which received them. Of the 40,000 silk-workers in Tours only 4000 were left; of the 12,000 in Lyons there remained but 3000. The rest had fled, mostly to England; and in other manufacturing centres a like tale was told. It was indeed a double-edged weapon which Louis wielded when he drove the Protestants into exile; and to the present hour his country feels the evil consequences of his action.

Second Period—The Church in the Desert

18. After the Storm.—With the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes the Reformed Church of France entered on the saddest century of her existence. Exile and death had reduced the once flourishing community to a mere shadow—from four to five millions being a moderate

estimate of those who had from first to last been driven from the country—but a remnant still existed. Their religion had been proscribed, their churches razed to the ground, their pastors banished, their co-religionists for the most part in exile, yet in spite of all a small Protestant remnant continued steadfast. In the mountain recesses of the Cevennes in Languedoc they found a retreat, of comparative safety, from their foes, and there the lamp of Protestantism was kept burning, when in every other part of France it had been extinguished. In caves and hollows of the mountains the fugitives met to worship God, and under the open heavens by faithful pastors the Lord's Supper was administered, though the galleys or death was the penalty to all if surprised. So the Church in the Desert was sustained and religious life fostered. But ere long elements dangerous to spiritual health made their appearance. The constant risk of death under which the refugees lived bred a fanaticism and wild enthusiasm in their religious life—a course which was all the easier because of the great want of regular pastors. In their absence their place was taken by uneducated men and women, and even children, claiming to be directly inspired by God, and called by Him to minister to His people. Strange ecstatic "prophesyings" supported their claims, and, as the contagion spread, disorderly extravagances became the chief note of the community.

19. **The Wars of the Camisards.**—To add to the disorder came the armies of the persecutor. The Abbé du Chaylu, a retired missionary from Siam, who had been appointed arch-suppressor of heresy in the district, had so goaded the Protestants by his cruelties that in revenge a band of peasants had attacked and burned his house and slain their tormentor. The result of the outbreak was the despatch of royal troops to the district, and the commencement of the *Wars of the Camisards.* It was a marvellous

struggle. The Camisards—so called from the *camise* or blouse which they wore—were rude and ignorant peasants, with no military training, and numbered only 10,000 men. Yet for more than three years, partly by their desperate bravery and partly through their acquaintance with the mountain districts, they were able to keep at bay the best troops of France. By their boy general *Cavalier* the Maréchals of France had to acknowledge themselves baffled. But bravery and skill were helpless in the long run against numbers, and when *Villars*, the commander of the royal troops, offered honourable terms of peace, Cavalier accepted them. Freedom of conscience and liberty of worship were guaranteed. Unwillingness, however, on the part of the King to ratify the terms, coupled with the reckless enthusiasm of the Camisard "prophets," caused a renewal of the war, which thus went on to the bitter end, when in 1715 the King issued a proclamation that heresy had at last been completely extirpated.

20. Antoine Court.—Protestant "heresy" is hard to kill, and within six months after Louis' proclamation proof was given that the "heresy" still lived. There then came to the front one of the greatest men the Protestant Church of France has produced, *Antoine Court, the restorer of French Presbyterianism.* Sprung from a godly peasant race and mostly self-taught, he found himself at eighteen years of age the pastor of the Huguenots who lurked in the town and neighbourhood of Nîmes. There the shattered condition of the Church and the evils caused by the enthusiasts pressed so heavily upon him, that he formed the definite resolution, with God's help, to end the disorder and rebuild the Church which had been overthrown. At his invitation, on 21st August 1715, there met, in an old Roman quarry near Nîmes, the few pastors who remained in the Cevennes and several representative laymen, when Court placed before them the state of the

Church and explained his remedy. Lack of discipline and order in the community was the most pressing evil, and this could best be combated by restoring in its fulness the Presbyterian system of elders and pastors governing the Church in council. As he advised, so the "Synod" resolved, and the work began. At Nîmes, as the centre, a regular Consistory was formed, and throughout the district of the Cevennes, wherever Protestants were to be found, *elders* were appointed, and entrusted with the duty of watching over the flock, repressing disorder, and arranging safe places for meetings when the pastor of the division should visit the neighbourhood. For pastors were few, and had to wander over wide stretches of country to minister to their many flocks. This was the beginning of the work. When it was found that Protestantism still lived, persecution revived, but failed to arrest the growth. Yearly Synods were held in secret, and the hand of the Church was placed ever more firmly on the religious life of the people. Extravagances were sternly repressed. Districts where the influence of the "prophets" had prevented the nomination of elders were warned that, should they fail to carry out the instructions of the Church, no notice would be given them of visits of pastors to their neighbourhood. It was a virtual threat of excommunication by a proscribed Church! "What a punishment for a breach of Church order," exclaims Coquerel, the historian of the Church of the Desert, "not to be informed of meetings which, if surprised, entailed on those present a lifelong experience of the galleys!"

The grim determination thus shown by the Church was rewarded by steady progress. In 1728 night assemblies of 3000 people in different districts were common, and the Secret Synod had grown to 60 members, mostly elders. Two years later Court had to flee, with a price on his head; but from across the border at Lausanne he con-

tinued to help the cause he loved. Pastors were the great want; and in Lausanne, through Court's instrumentality, there was now established a training institution to take the place of the seminaries at Montauban and Saumur which had been closed. In the meantime, under *Michael Viala* and *Paul Rabaut*, pastor at Nîmes, the work in France went on with such success that it was possible to hold, in 1744, a Synod in the Desert, with some claim to the title "National." Not merely the south-eastern corner of France was represented, as had hitherto been the case, but from the whole of the southern provinces, and a few of the western also, there came deputies.

21. Growth of Tolerance.—The progress thus shown brought a sharp renewal of persecution, but it did not last long, for which the Church was mainly indebted to the rise in France of the sceptical spirit. Under the teaching of *Voltaire* religious indifference had become fashionable, and in many cases absolute unbelief prevailed. The Jesuits, who a little later were expelled from the country, were fast losing their influence, and with its wane religious intolerance gradually disappeared. To the Protestant Church came at last the much-needed rest, and in 1787, after nearly a century of proscription, *civil rights* were restored to his Protestant subjects by the edict of Louis XVI. Their *religious* rights were still withheld, but the hour was fast approaching when they too were to be secured.

22. The Revolution.—The year 1789 was an eventful year for France. Then it was that the political storm, which had been so long brewing, came to a head, and before the mob of Paris, rising in their might, the Bastille went down. Said Louis XVI. when the news reached him, "This is a revolt." "Sire," was the reply, "it is a Revolution." It was the opening act in the revolutionary outburst which then passed over France, and, from France,

affected the whole of Europe. Every civilised nation felt its influence, but in no country were the excesses which accompanied the movement so great as in the country of its birth. In 1685 France had sown the wind, and now she reaped the whirlwind. The expulsion of her Protestant children from her shores, a century before, had not only deprived her of a strong bulwark against superstition and infidelity, but had also in a great measure left her destitute of the industrious and independent middle class, on whose existence experience has shown a nation's welfare so much depends. The Roman Catholic Church, which, so long as Protestantism was a tolerated religion, had purged herself of many evils and produced many great and good men, sank back into her former corruption when her rival was overthrown. Superstition spread, and in its train came its Nemesis, Infidelity. The restraining influence of a rational religion was wanting, and, accordingly, when the social upheaval came it was accompanied by excesses worthy of a St. Bartholomew's Day. In the first flush of triumph the Revolutionary party contented itself with confiscating all the property of the Roman Catholic Church, rearranging the dioceses, and generally bringing the Church under the management of the State. At this period the Protestant Church profited so far as to have all laws against Protestantism repealed. But the moderation thus manifested by the National Assembly changed rapidly into intemperance. The anti-religious spirit increased, and in 1793 the *Reign of Terror* began. Christian worship was forbidden throughout France, and for sixteen months every church, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike, was closed. In the Cathedral of Notre-Dame worship was paid to a profligate woman, clad in classical costume, representing the Goddess of Reason. France gloried in infidelity and revelled in blood. With the fall of Robespierre the awful epoch ended, and religion

regained its rightful place. In 1795 the churches were reopened, and to the Protestant Church at last was granted freedom of worship, never, it may well be hoped, to be again withdrawn.

Third Period—The Church of the Present

23. The Church under Napoleon Bonaparte.—In the closing year of the eighteenth century Napoleon Bonaparte was made First Consul of France, when his advent to power was the occasion of the Protestant Church being placed on a firm, though not entirely satisfactory, basis. Napoleon was professedly a Republican, but in his tendencies he was as much of an absolutist as had been any of the Kings of France, and in settling the Constitution of the Reformed Church this was abundantly shown. Information regarding the doctrine and constitution of the Church was procured by his Government, with a view to framing a suitable enactment, but when the enactment was issued, on 8th April 1802, it proved to differ considerably from the old Presbyterian system. The Congregational Consistories were abolished, as also the National Synods. The congregations of the Church were then grouped anew into what were termed *Consistorial Churches*, each group comprising 6000 souls, while the council controlling the group was known as the *Consistory*. It was the old name, but it carried new duties, which approximated the duties of the old *Colloque*. In the mode of electing the members of the Consistory, however, the greatest departure from the old ways was seen. In addition to the ministers of the congregations which went to form the Consistorial Church, the Consistory included from six to twelve elders, who were to be chosen from those citizens (members) who paid the highest taxes to the State. Wealth in place of piety had become the qualification for

office! Five of these Consistorial Churches formed a *Synod Circle*, which was governed by a *Synod*, composed of one minister and one elder from each congregation, but which could meet only by permission of the State and in the presence of a State functionary. So many were the restrictions placed on this higher council that, as a matter of fact, no Synod met during the Napoleonic rule. The *Consistories* were the only councils held, and over them was placed the State *Minister of Culture*. Thus separated from each other, with no legal means of inter-communication except through the State ministry, the Consistorial Churches were debarred from taking mutual counsel and prevented from entering on any common work. It was a repetition of the old policy, *divide et impera*, and it worked: the Reformed Church gave no trouble to the State. There can be no doubt, however, as to the retarding effect the policy had on the Church's own life. She accepted indeed with gratitude the imperfect constitution offered her, and settled down uncomplainingly to work. Half a loaf was better than no bread. After a hundred years of worshipping in the desert under penalty of death, it was a great thing to have freedom to worship God after her own manner, and to receive a recognised place among the institutions of the nation. But as time went on the evil effects of the isolation of the Consistories began to appear. The unity of belief and purpose which had marked the Church in the Desert was gradually lost through lack of intercourse, and divergences which ultimately led to division unconsciously gained in strength.

24. The Church's Growth.—Yet, though the seed of future evil had been sown, the Church as a whole prospered, and within five years from the issuing of the enactment there were in France 78 Consistorial Churches and 222 ministers. From time to time proposals were made to remedy the Constitution, but not till 1848 did they

lead to action. Then the unrest and remodelling prevailing in State affairs made the time seem propitious for improvements in the Church, and an unofficial but very representative Synod accordingly met in Paris. Out of 92 Consistorial Churches, 89 had sent their deputies, and by this representative gathering a complete system of Church Government on the old Presbyterian lines was adopted. The four Church Courts were again provided, though under slightly altered names—*Church Consistory*, *General Consistory*, *Provincial Synod*, and *General Synod*. The prospect of obtaining State sanction seemed hopeful, but dissensions among those submitting the proposals caused them to be set aside. It was but a postponement, not an abandonment. Naturally the State could not legislate for a Church divided against herself. A secession had first to come.

25. The Secession of 1848.—On the very first mooting of the proposal to hold a Synod, some of the more far-seeing ministers of the Church had spoken against it, on the ground of the unripeness of the time. "The result of the Assembly," said Mäder of Strassburg, "will be not the organisation but the disorganisation of the Church." He spoke truly, but the disorganisation was a necessary step to organisation. The Synod, by drawing together representatives from all the districts, brought into prominence the great divergences in doctrine and method which had been both fostered and concealed by the isolation of the Consistorial Churches. Hitherto friction had been prevented by isolation, but the proposal for closer union at once gave importance to the points on which the members differed. The main difference was the now familiar one between the *Old and New Schools* of theological thought. The older theology, which had its headquarters at the Faculty of Montauban, where the able *Adolph Monod* had presided, was represented in the Synod by the earnest and enthusiastic *Frederic Monod*; while the newer

theology, whose chief seat was Paris, had for its leader the able and acute *Coquerel*. The Evangelical party, under F. Monod, demanded that a definite creed be formulated for the reconstituted Church, but to a large majority it seemed that it would be impossible in the circumstances to frame a creed which would be acceptable to all, and the motion was accordingly rejected. The result justified Mäder's prophecy. Frederic Monod, accompanied by several others, left the Synod, and being joined by their own and other congregations, formally seceded from the Reformed Church, to constitute *The Union of Evangelical Churches*. In separating from the Reformed Church they also severed all connection with the State, surrendered their endowments, and established themselves on a purely Voluntary basis. Since its commencement the Union has steadily increased in numbers, and has been zealous in Christian work, though it has remained a small body as compared with the parent Church. In its Constitution it is a mixture of the Presbyterian and Congregational systems, each congregation being independent in its management and work, but responsible to the Union for sound doctrine and wholesome discipline. What the Reformed Church lost by the secession she gained in homogeneity, and, as one result, three years after the abortive Synod had been held, the reforms then proposed were finally sanctioned. The property qualification for the eldership was abolished, and the old Church councils, with the single exception of the National Synod, were restored. In 1872 this last link in the Presbyterian chain was granted by Mons. Thiers, and the 30*th National Synod* assembled. At the instance of Mons. Guizot a short Confession of Faith was then adopted as the Creed of the Church, but not without opposition. One-third of the members were against the proposal, and so keen and bitter was the controversy that

the permission to hold General Synods with authority over the Church was withdrawn by the Government. In their place *unofficial* Synods came to be held every third year, which possessed no legislative power, but were useful in maintaining the unity of the Church.

26. Separation of Church and State.—Throughout the last thirty years of the nineteenth century normal life and development marked the Church, but with the opening of the twentieth there came an event which profoundly affected the whole ecclesiastical life of France. In 1905 all connection between Church and State was declared to be at an end, and State aid, which had hitherto been given in varying measure to all Churches, ceased. A momentous breach between France and the Vatican was the most far-reaching result of this drastic action, but the effect on the small Protestant Churches was proportionately even more serious. The Roman Church in France, with her world-wide relations, could look for help in the crisis from many lands and sources; the Protestant Churches in France, so far as any wider organisation or outside aid was concerned, stood alone. Straightway they had to face the problem of self-support, always most difficult in the early stages for a community unaccustomed to the burden. But with added responsibilities there came also a new freedom in the ordering of their own life, which has more than compensated.

Under the new conditions thus created French Presbyterianism has ranged itself for the most part in two leading groups, the larger being the *National Union of the Reformed Evangelical Churches of France.* This possesses some 66,000 members, 446 congregations, and 380 ministers. Congregations are grouped into "Regional Unions," which are under twenty "Regional Synods," and over all is a "National Synod," which meets annually. The yearly expenditure of this Reformed Evangelical Church of

France approximates £100,000; and evidence of the Church's continuity with the past is given by her adherence to the Confession of Faith drawn up in 1872 by the National Synod of the old Reformed Church.

The smaller body is the *National Union of the Reformed Churches of France*, which has 56,000 members, 200 congregations, and 180 ministers. The average annual expenditure is £26,000, and the credal standards which were adopted in 1907 indicate a "freer" attitude in theology than marks the larger Church.

The relations of the two Churches to each other are entirely cordial, though they come short as yet of union. Co-operation is sought in a common adherence to the important organisation, the *Protestant Federation of France*. Compared with the vast Roman Catholic population of France the Protestants are a very small minority, constituting only one-fortieth of the whole, but through this Federation they have both realised their unity and strengthened their life. Formed at Nîmes in 1909, it includes the Reformed (or Presbyterian), the Lutheran, the Methodist, the Baptist, and the Independent Churches. Each Church is left entirely free in regard to the ordering of her own life, but in prosecuting efforts for the moral and social good of the people of France, the Federation leads and represents all the Churches. That such common action among Protestants exercises an influence towards union is undoubted, and by the Reformed Churches which are of the same ecclesiastical family this is especially felt.

27. **The Great War—and after.**—Upon the Reformed Church, engaged as she still was in the arduous task of adapting herself to the new conditions, the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 had a paralysing effect. Her greatest strength centred in the invaded districts of north-eastern France, and in a moment that whole area was reduced to a barren desert. Throughout France,

under the law of compulsory military service, every minister of religion of suitable age was drafted into the army for the service of the country; and to maintain the life and work of the scattered remnants of the Reformed congregations there were left only the senior ministers, the older men of the congregations, and the women. In the mission fields of the *Paris Evangelical Missionary Society*, the fairest flower of French Protestantism, it was the same. Senior missionaries alone were left; all the younger workers being called home to fight for France in her struggle for life. Both at home and abroad the response was given willingly, for the Church believed in the national cause. But the strain was grievous and the losses were sore. For four years the Church strove to maintain her existence, so that she might still be found "in being" when the war should end.

On 5th November 1918, when the signing of the Armistice was imminent, the Synod of the Reformed Evangelical Church met in Paris, in the church of Saint Esprit near the Madeleine, and counted the costs of the war. It was a saddening task. Many pastors and students killed, forty buildings in ruins, and, wrote Ch. Merle D'Aubigne at the time, "All our congregations of the North and North-East dispersed, and their towns and villages wrecked in such a way by German fury that it will take years to rebuild and refurnish them; our once prosperous mission work among the miners of Pas-de-Calais destroyed, and no hope of resuming it until the coal-pits are again in action, which cannot be for several years; to say nothing of the countless losses we have sustained among the laity of our churches, especially among the young, who would have been the leaders in the next decade."

This was but a preliminary survey. On 24th June 1919 the Synod again met, and from this meeting dates a

period of vigorous reconstruction and rapid growth, such as the Church in pre-war days had never shown. Restoration of the churches and manses in the ravaged territory; extensive developments of the Home Mission work in co-operation with the other Protestant Churches of France; vigorous advances in the Foreign Field, where ten per cent of the whole ministry of the Church are serving as missionaries; the transfer of the old faculty of Divinity at Montauban to the more central site of Montpellier; resolute and successful efforts to meet the increasing costs by doubling the Church's liberality in four years,—all these are signs of the new and healthy life which to-day inspires the Reformed Church of France. And to this catalogue may be added the increased strength, both in numbers and in influence, which accompanied the restoration to France, at the close of the war, of the northern provinces Alsace and Lorraine.

By this rendition half a million adherents of the Protestant Churches were added to the population of France. Of these the great majority were Lutherans, but 87,264 belonged to the Reformed (or Presbyterian) family. They are largely German-speaking, and have as yet (1925) maintained a separate organisation, the *Reformed Church of Alsace-Lorraine*, with headquarters at Strasburg. In common with the other religious bodies of the recovered area—Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Jewish—this Presbyterian Church, under promise given by France in the time of the war, continues to receive some financial aid from the State; though it seems doubtful if this arrangement will be of long duration. The Church is in cordial relation with her sister in the south, and now forms an important element in the Presbyterianism of France.

All told, the community connected with the Presbyterian Churches in France does not exceed 400,000,

while the total Protestant population is not more than 900,000. Yet in the life of France the influence of Protestantism to-day is far greater than these numbers would imply. When the mighty things are remembered which the Huguenot spirit did for God and country in the days of long and bitter opposition, it is difficult in these times of religious freedom to put any limit to the potentialities for righteousness and progress which rest in the Huguenot Churches of the present hour. Speaking in 1888 at the Pan-Presbyterian Council, the late Pastor Bersier, the famous Paris preacher, described his Church in proud but well-merited words: "I represent a great Presbyterian Church—I may say the greatest, when I think of what she has suffered for the cause of Christ and human liberty. And though we are small now, we may say that our poverty has been the riches of many nations." No one will say him nay. The debt of the world to the Reformed Church of France is beyond dispute. But to-day the land which is experiencing the deepest enrichment from this "Martyr Church of Presbyterianism" is France herself; and for France and for the world it is good that it should be so.

CHAPTER V

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE NETHERLANDS

On 1st July 1523 the martyrdom at Brussels of two Augustinian monks, for holding Lutheran opinions, announced to the Christian world that the Reformation had reached the Netherlands. The situation of the country, bordering as it did on Germany and France, where Reformed views were current, favoured the entrance of the new Faith; and, once there, the nature of the people made its rapid diffusion a certainty. Alike in education, free privileges, and independence of character, the Dutch were in advance of most of their contemporaries, and eagerly welcomed the new teaching which fitted so well with their national characteristics. From the Lutheran side the movement first came, entering the country from the north, but soon a similar impulse from the south was felt, Calvinistic in its origin and teaching, which ultimately proved the stronger of the two. Gradually the leaven spread through the whole of the provinces, giving to the Reformed Faith of the Netherlands the Calvinistic colour which has ever since characterised it. But before the Church could be built the cross had to be borne.

1. **Persecutions.**—For their head at this critical period the Netherlands had no less a person than *Charles V., King of Spain*, and Emperor of Germany, who to these high dignities added the lesser title of Count of Holland

and the Netherlands. In him the Reforming movement found a persistent enemy. Foiled in his attempt to crush Lutheranism in Germany, where his power had many limitations, he resolved that no such failure should mark his operations in the Netherlands. The burning at Brussels of *Henry Voes* and *John Esch*, the proto-martyrs of the Reformation, gave a proof of his zeal and a sample of his methods. To heresy the death-penalty was attached, and when in 1534 there took place among the Anabaptists, who were at that period numerous in the Netherlands, an outbreak, characterised by gross excesses, advantage was taken of the opportunity to increase the severity of the measures against the Protestants. The *Inquisition* was introduced with all its barbarous methods, and in 1550 was promulgated one of the most infamous edicts that has ever stained the statute-book of a Christian country. For a layman to possess a Protestant book, to read the Scriptures in private, to converse concerning the Scriptures either publicly or privately, to lodge or help in any way persons suspected of such heresy, meant death, and a terrible death too—"the men with the sword and the women to be buried alive, if they do *not* persist in their errors; if they do persist in them they are to be executed with fire; all their property in both cases being confiscated to the crown." These awful provisions were literally carried out. Thirty thousand men and women perished, meeting death with a heroism unsurpassed. In 1555 Charles V. abdicated in favour of his son Philip II., but the change of rulers brought no relief to the Protestants.

2. **Presbyterian Beginnings.**—In the meantime, despite persecutions, the Reformed views made such headway that a definite creed and constitution for the Church were felt to be required. The *Southern or Walloon Provinces*, where the movement was strongest, were markedly Calvinistic in their sympathies, and these were now reflected

in the formal declaration of Creed and Constitution which they adopted. In 1559 *Guido de Brès*, a Walloon preacher, who had received his training partly in England and partly in Geneva, drew up a Calvinistic Confession of Faith, closely modelled on the French Confession of the same year, which, as revised by Francis Junius under the title "*Confessio Belgica*," was subsequently adopted as the Confession of the Dutch Church. Four years later (1563) a thoroughly *Presbyterian Constitution* for the Church was adopted by a Synod held in *Antwerp*, at which representatives were present from most of the Protestant communities of the south. It was a work of faith, which bore fruit in after years, but not, strange to say, in the provinces where it originated. Under the continued pressure of persecution these provinces relapsed into Romanism, while the Creed and Constitution they had framed found a permanent home in the provinces of the north.

3. Protestantism becomes the National Cause.—The continued progress of Protestantism led Philip to try measures of repression, which had a very important result on both Church and State. In addition to reproclaiming the Edict of 1550, and mercilessly enforcing it by the aid of the Inquisition, he increased the Roman Catholic bishoprics from four to fourteen, maintained in the country a large body of Spanish troops, and in many ways interfered with the statutory liberties of the people. The Dutch became alarmed. They saw their provinces the prey of the foreigner, and felt their old freedom and hereditary privileges fast slipping away. A national impatience of the Spanish suzerainty rapidly developed, when it was seen that *civil* liberties as well as religious were in danger. Protestantism became identified with patriotism, and the cause of the Protestant Church, from being that of a party, was recognised as the interest of the

nation. To this fusion of the civil and religious interests of the country may be ascribed the ultimate victory of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands. The first sign of resistance was the formation of a league by some five hundred of the younger and more reckless of the nobles and burghers. Binding themselves together by an oath or *compromise* to resist the Spanish tyranny, they approached the Regent, the Duchess of Parma, with the request that the Inquisition should be abolished and the Edicts recalled. The Regent was alarmed, and, promising that the request would be considered, relaxed the harsher measures until instructions could be received from Spain. Then, as if by magic, the Protestant feeling burst into flame. Crowded religious assemblies were held throughout the provinces, under the open sky, when sometimes as many as 20,000 men, women, and children assembled to hear the Presbyterian preachers. At first the meetings were held with due order and decorum, but soon the enthusiasm bred a fanatical excitement, which passed beyond the control of the ministers. A *storm of iconoclasm* swept over the country, and in the sacking of four hundred Roman Catholic churches, including the grand Antwerp Cathedral, the Protestant mob gratified their hatred of the system which had worked such cruelties in their land. Ministers and nobles tried to stay the fury, but in vain. The passion was too deep; and though the work of destruction is to be sadly deplored, it is scarcely to be wondered at. What is wonderful is that, in these days of excitement, blood was not claimed in return for the blood of friends and kinsmen which had been so freely shed.

4. War to the Knife.—Tidings of the outbreak were swiftly carried to Philip, and in order to crush the revolt he despatched to the scene the dreaded *Duke of Alva* with 10,000 troops (1567). Alva's measures were of the most

ruthless and despotic nature. One merit alone he had—absolute fidelity to his master—but this only served to increase the severity of his measures. Suspending the ordinary courts of justice, he formed a *Council of Disturbances*, which, by its gruesome sentences, soon earned for itself the name by which it is best remembered, *The Council of Blood.* The most trivial causes were enough to warrant a conviction, the mere suspicion of Protestant leanings causing death. Within three months 1800 Protestants were executed. The Church organisation just forming was broken up, the pastors slain or forced to flee, and the whole country thrown into a panic of terror.

5. William, Prince of Orange.—At this juncture there came to the front the man who was to be the saviour of his country, William, Prince of Orange. One of the leading nobles of the Netherlands, he had until now been a Roman Catholic in religion, and in politics a loyal supporter of the King, but the continued deceit and cruelty shown by the Spanish power towards his country now led him to alter both his faith and his allegiance (1568). His espousal of the national cause marked the beginning of the real struggle, as it made apparent to Philip that he had now to contend with the whole of the patriotism of the Netherlands. Freedom as well as faith was at stake. There is no more deeply interesting epoch in secular history than the desperate and protracted struggle which then ensued. Against the mighty power of Spain, then regarded as the first nation in Europe, the brave and sturdy Dutchmen contended, with a courage and resolution which no reverses could overcome. Often defeated, they never despaired, and when, as frequently happened, towns were captured and given over to the Spanish troops for sack and outrage, the survivors set themselves the more determinedly to cast out the oppressors. *The Relief of Leyden* (3rd October 1574), after a five months' siege, during

which the citizens endured excessive privations, marked the turn of the tide. In vain did Philip send leader after leader to stem the flow. Alva's cruelty, Requescens's honourable warfare, Don John of Austria's able diplomacy, and the Prince of Parma's urbanity and tact, alike failed to overcome the stern patriotism of the Dutch and the watchful prudence of Orange. The southern provinces were indeed won over to the Roman Church, and remain strongly Romanist to this day, but the more rugged men of the north stood firm. In 1579, by the *Treaty of Utrecht*, the seven northern provinces formed the Union which was the beginning of the Dutch Republic, and elected William, Prince of Orange, to be their Stadtholder.

6. Settlement of the Church.—The victory of the State meant also the triumph of the Protestant Church, but her triumph revealed the existence of opposing interests and diverse views, which, during the struggle, had not been visible. So long as war was raging through the land, organised Church life had been an impossibility. The Church organisation, which had begun so promisingly in the south, had been shattered by Alva's iron strokes. Yet it was not destroyed. The pastors and many of the people, who sought safety in flight across the eastern and northern border, maintained their Presbyterianism in exile. They lived in the hope that better days would come, when they might restore a Presbyterian Church to their afflicted country; and with this expectation a conference of refugees, at the transfrontier town of *Emden*, had framed in 1571 a series of articles emphasising afresh the Calvinistic character of the Church. Amongst other positions thus laid down was the favourite Calvinistic one as to the relations of Church and State in a Protestant land—honourable allies, independent in their own spheres, but lending each other a helping hand where such help was needed. It was an easy matter for a body of Cal-

vinistic divines in exile to pass resolutions of so churchly a tone, but whether a Protestant State would accept them had yet to be seen. It was soon tested. In 1572 Holland and Zealand, the two seaboard provinces, had virtually proclaimed their independence by declaring Orange to be their lawful Stadtholder, and at once the banished Protestants began to return, and Protestant worship to be observed. Two years later (1574) the first *Provincial Synod* of the Dutch Church met at *Dordrecht* to arrange the Constitution, and adopted with some modifications the *Emden Articles* as embodying the views of the Church. But on presenting the resolutions to the Stadtholder and his Council, it was found that the views of the State were different. The Church had made her first move, and had been checked.

7. Church versus State.—The check brought to the front the composite character of the Protestant movement. Calvinism had triumphed so far as the majority of ministers were concerned, but not from Calvinism alone had the provinces received their Protestantism. *Lutheranism* and *Zwinglianism* had contributed no inconsiderable share, and now, in the settlement of the Church, Lutheran and Zwinglian views of the relations of Church and State came into prominence. The independence of the Church from civil control, as advocated by the Calvinists, did not commend itself to the new Government. More consonant to its tastes was the Zwinglian view, which, holding that the State was itself a religious community, with the Church as its organ, gave the State supreme control in Church affairs. Of this mind too was Orange. Though in matters of doctrine he was a thorough Calvinist, he dreaded the effect of granting uncontrolled freedom to the Church, even if only in things spiritual. "Toleration" was one of the watchwords of his life, and this he thought could best be secured by the State retaining the supremacy

in its own hands. In a proposed constitution which he submitted for consideration (1576), in place of the discarded proposals of the Church, he showed how he thought his object might be best attained. Presbyterian offices and constitution were provided as being admittedly most in consonance with Scriptural precedent; but in the nominations to the offices and in the control of the constitution the hand of the State was to be felt at every point. The project was still-born. As the State had refused the Church's plan, so now the Church would have none of the State's. A like fate awaited a scheme propounded by the second *Synod at Dordrecht* (1578), the first *National* Synod of the Dutch Church, when the churchly note was again too pronounced for the State's acceptance. So also was it with a third proposal, from the National Synod at *Middelburg* (1581). Neither Church nor State would yield. Said the magistrates of Leyden, where the feeling against the independence of the Church was very strong, "If we accept everything resolved on by the Synods, we shall in the end become the Synod's vassals. We will not open to the Churchmen our gates and doors for a new mastership over magistrates and subjects, wife and child." The Union of the seven provinces had raised great hopes of the foundation of a really National Church, but against their realisation worked these opposing views of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The independence of each province in religious affairs, which had been fixed by the Treaty of Utrecht, also tended in the same direction—the diversity of the religious elements in the various provinces making an organic union impossible. In the end the problem was solved by the establishment of a Provincial Church in each province, all being Presbyterian and allied to each other by a common creed and constitution, but no provision was made for a supreme Church authority, or Assembly ruling over all. A *Provincial*

Synod formed the controlling court of each Church, its membership consisting of representatives from the various *Classes* (a combination of the Scottish Presbytery and Kirk-Session) throughout the province. Over all the civil power was dominant.

8. The Universities.—The settlement of Church affairs was followed by a marvellous outburst of intellectual and theological activity. The war with Spain still went on—nor did it end till 1609—but its lingering course did not interfere with the Church's work. And it was a pressing work which lay to its hand, none other than the further systematising and developing of Protestant theology on the lines laid down by Calvin. For this work the Dutch Church was better equipped than any other of the Presbyterian Churches then existing, for none were so richly endowed with seats of learning, manned and controlled by Protestants. At *Leyden*, in gratitude to God for the great deliverance, a University had been established in 1575. *Franecker* had followed suit in 1585, and before the first half of the seventeenth century had passed, three other Universities destined to be famous had sprung into existence — *Groningen*, *Utrecht*, and *Harderwyk*. The theological and intellectual ardour to which the Universities owed their origin was greatly increased through their influence. The Netherlands became the chief theological school of the Reformed Churches, and formed the arena where two of the hottest controversies were waged which have ever agitated Protestantism, and which had the effect of fixing the creed of the Presbyterian Churches for many generations.

9. The Arminian Controversy.—First in time and also in importance was the great Arminian Controversy, which in its essence was a revolt of the human heart against the sterner aspects of the Calvinistic Creed. Twelve centuries before, a similar revolt had been raised

by the Scottish monk *Pelagius*, when it was crushed by the great *Augustine*; and often since then have like controversies agitated the Church. They come of necessity whenever the high mysteries of the Divine nature and methods, as declared in Scripture, seem to run counter to the deep feelings of the human heart. The theology of the heart then rebels against the declared theology of the Written Word. Such was the case in the Netherlands in the early years of the seventeenth century. *James Arminius*, a professor in the University of Leyden in 1603, started the controversy by denying the Calvinistic doctrine of *Unconditional Election*, and asserting that election was conditional on God's foreknowledge. Soon followed similar modifications on other points. Against the high Calvinistic position that Christ died for the *elect only*, Arminius urged that Christ died *for all*; and inasmuch as the doctrine of the *irresistibleness of the Spirit's influence* seemed to deny the freedom of the human will, he denied the doctrine. Opposing Arminius was *Gomarus*, a brother professor of strict Calvinistic views. The conflict rapidly spread beyond the walls of Leyden, and affected the whole Church. In the streets and market-places, in the cottar's house and the Stadtholder's palace, sides were taken and keen argument held on the deep theological points at issue.

But the controversy was complicated by the existence of other factors than the theological. On the question of *Church Government* the Calvinists declared strongly for spiritual independence, while the Arminians advocated the Zwinglian method of subordination to the State. *Political differences* also largely influenced the course of the controversy. *Maurice the Stadtholder* was suspected at the time of aiming at a more complete supremacy over the united provinces, and when he found the majority of the States of Holland which had republican views joining

the Arminians, he declared for the opposite party. Thus fanned from three directions, the controversial fire soon assumed proportions dangerous to both Church and State. Arminius died in 1609, but the conflict ceased not. In 1610 his party presented a *Remonstrance* to the Estates of Holland and East Friesland, when they were supported in their prayer by the eminent statesman *Johan van Olden Barneveldt* and the great theologian *Grotius*. Disruptions in the Church at Rotterdam and Amsterdam were additional omens of the probable result of the conflict, unless steps were immediately taken to end it. Accordingly the States-General decided to call a General Synod of the Church to determine the points at issue.

10. The Synod of Dort.—The Synod which met at Dort (or Dordrecht) in 1618 was the first and only instance of an Œcumenical Council of the Reformed Churches. The Churches of the seven provinces were of course most largely represented, but in addition there were twenty-eight foreign deputies, many of whom were from Germany, several from England (best known being Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury), and one, Walter Balcanquhal, from Scotland. At an early stage of the proceedings, the Arminian party were ruled out of the house in consequence of their refusing to agree to the rules of debate, and after a session of 154 meetings, the *five cardinal points* of the Arminian teaching were condemned as heretical, and the Calvinistic Creed adopted as the Creed of the Church. With an unpardonable severity, which is explainable mainly on political grounds, the Arminian ministers were sent into exile, and their leaders, Grotius and Olden Barneveldt, seized and imprisoned. Through his wife's devotion Grotius escaped, but the statesman, less fortunate, was sent to the block.

On the death of Maurice the sentence of exile against the Arminians was revoked, and the banished ministers

returned to their country, with liberty to preach and teach as they pleased. From this resulted *The Remonstrant Church*, whose history may perhaps be regarded as partially justifying the action of the Synod of Dort. Learned scholars and able theologians this dissenting church has had, amongst them being *Episcopius*, *Limborch*, and *Wettstein*, and through their influence the theological views for which the Church contended have spread widely, and have affected the teaching of churches avowedly Calvinistic. But the Remonstrant Church as an organisation has not grown. To-day her members gradually diminish.

11. The Cocceian Controversy.—The Cocceian Controversy of the middle of the seventeenth century marked a step forward. Commencing as an endeavour on the part of the more cautious Churchmen to prevent the diffusion of the Cartesian philosophy in the Netherlands, it proved in the end to be a formidable struggle between conservative and progressive theology. Protestantism was fast building up a traditional theology, and the Church was in danger of falling into the grip of a new scholasticism not unlike the old, when against this tendency there protested *John Cocceius*, professor at Franecker, an able theologian and an accomplished Biblical critic. His contention was for a *Biblical Theology* as opposed to any traditional or scholastic methods. "Interpret the Bible by the Bible," was his maxim, and in following this method he found lying at the base of God's dealings with men *two Covenants* or agreements—one of *Works*, the other of *Grace*, made with Adam and Christ respectively as the representative heads of the human race. The *Federal* or Covenant system of theology thus formulated met with keen opposition from the older school of the period, led by Gÿsbert Voëtius. But time was on its side; already it was the recognised system of the English Puritans and the Westminster Confession, and before the

end of the century it had practically become the recognised theology of all Presbyterian Churches.

12. Presbyterian Refugees.—While the Netherlands were, through much controversy, evolving what was to be the ruling theology of Presbyterianism, they also by their hospitality did much to preserve a Presbyterian Church for other lands, and notably for Scotland. For the Scottish Presbyterians the seventeenth century was one of intermittent persecution, and of those who were forced to flee for their lives the majority sought and found a safe refuge in the Netherlands. In the days of the Covenant the Dutch Universities formed the training school of the young Scots ministers, and among those so trained were not a few whose names were afterwards famous. In Middelburg, Leyden, Campvere, and Rotterdam were flourishing Scots congregations, which were recognised and generously helped by the States-General. The consequence of this enforced residence in the Netherlands of many of the Scots ministers at a time of great theological activity has been far-reaching. The Dutch theology then assimilated, passing over to Scotland, has through the Scottish medium influenced the many Presbyterian Churches which own the Church of Scotland as their mother.

Nor was this the only way in which the Dutch Church helped to extend Presbyterianism. It was the century of *Dutch Colonial expansion*, and wherever the Dutch flag went, the Dutch Church was planted. Of this zeal Presbyterian Churches in the Dutch Indies, South Africa, and America are the present-day result.

13. Modifications in the Constitution.—The Constitution of the Church, which had been the result of the Treaty of Utrecht, continued with little modification until the end of the eighteenth century. What modifications there were aimed at securing more thorough ministerial

supervision. This problem, which has frequently exercised Presbyterian Churches, was solved in the Dutch Church by each *Classis* deputing two or three ministers to visit annually every congregation within its bounds and report on the efficiency of the work. Otherwise the Presbyterian system remained unchanged. But with the end of the eighteenth century began the epoch of State constitution-experimenting, which tried the Netherlands more than most European countries. From 1795, when the "Batavian Republic" entered on its short life, to 1813, when the House of Orange was restored to power, the Church shared in the prevailing disorganisation. Order then returned, and in 1816 the Church Constitution which in its main features still continues was adopted. It was Presbyterian with a completeness never before attained, inasmuch as the conciliar system was now completed by a *National Synod*. The State supremacy, however, continued to be maintained, by the reservation in the King's hands of large powers in the nominations to the higher councils. In 1827 the royal prerogative was again asserted, when the system was adopted of appointing a *Permanent Commission* of seven members of the National Synod. The Synod named fourteen, from whom the *King* chose the seven. Twenty-five years later (1852) came another change, and, up to the present, the final one. Influenced by the example of the neighbouring countries of France, Belgium, and, to a certain extent, Germany, the Government of the Netherlands then adopted the principle of *concurrent Endowment* of all denominations, and withdrew all claim to control over the National Church. From that time, save for the endowments, Church and State have lived apart.

14. Secessions from the Church. — During the nineteenth century two secessions from the National Church occurred, which have had a lasting effect on the

Presbyterianism of Holland. Both were due partly to a dislike of certain features in the Church's constitution, and partly to a strong aversion to a growing laxity in her doctrinal attitude. The constitution given to the Church in 1816, while Presbyterian in its structure, was marred by features which were unfavourable to the full exercise of the Presbyterian spirit. To the small General Synod there had been given an authority so great as to seriously impair the rightful influence of the lower Councils of the Church; and the establishment of small independent boards to deal with special departments of the Church's work was a further infringement of valued privileges.

The dissatisfaction thereby caused was increased by the rapid spread in the country of extreme rationalistic views, which many thought had been aided by the action of the Synod in 1816, when it sanctioned a modified creed-subscription for the ministers. Adherence to the standards of the Church was then required no longer *quia* (because) but *quatenus* (as far as) they conformed with Holy Writ. The door thus opened was soon taken advantage of, and an alarming tide towards rationalism appeared within the Church. So pronounced in many cases was the divergence from orthodoxy, that in 1834 a reactionary movement set in, headed by Henry de Cock, which in 1837 culminated in the secession of a number of the more orthodox pastors and their congregations. This First Secession, which was termed *The Separation*, stood for the old ways in doctrine, worship, and discipline, and in the lives of its supporters sincerity and devout piety were prominent features. Much persecution fell upon them, liberty to preach being at first denied to the ministers. In 1839 a "restricted liberty" was granted, but as a Church community they were deprived of their possessions and were denied the very right to use the old name "Reformed." They were called the *Christian*

Separated Church. In 1869 the name of the *Christian Reformed Church* was sanctioned, and under the inspiring influence of their devoted leader Hermann Bavinck, they moved quietly forward. A theological school had been established in 1854 at Kampur, and within the next thirty years they had become a church of 300 congregations and 70,000 members, active at home and with a vigorous Foreign Mission in the Dutch East Indies.

The Second Secession came forty years later. Undeterred and unwarned by the former cleavage, the National Church had held on her course, and in 1853 the Synod still further relaxed the credal obligations of the ministers. Only an agreement with "the spirit and essence" of the standards—the *Confessio Belgica*, the *Heidelberg Catechism*, and the *Canons of Dort*—was henceforth to be required. From this date the disruption in Dutch theology grew apace, and significantly enough it became yet more widespread after 1876, in which year, by the removal of the theological faculties from the State universities, the teaching of theology passed under the Church's own control. It was mainly in consequence of these theological differences that in 1886 there took place the second Secession, known as *The Doleance* (from Latin *doleo*, to complain). The leader of this movement was Dr. Abraham Kuyper, one of his country's most prominent sons in the nineteenth century, a man who "chafed under the tendency of the National Church to liberalism in religion and despotism in government." With him were associated many others of mark, both as scholars and ministers. Already in 1880 Dr. Kuyper, the "grand old man" of his country, as he has been termed, had been instrumental in founding the Free University of Amsterdam, and this was now ready to train the ministers of the young and vigorous Church. In 1892 the two Secession Churches, the Church of the "Separation"

and the Church of the "Doleance," united to form one organisation, *The Reformed Churches of the Netherlands.*

15. Present Position.—Since 1892 Presbyterianism in the Netherlands has been represented mainly by the two important Churches, the old National Church and the younger Church formed by the union of the two Secession bodies.

The Reformed Church of the Netherlands is still the National Church in much more than an official sense. In 1923 her ministers numbered 1560, and her members and active adherents 865,957. Up to the close of the nineteenth century the Church suffered severely from the spread of rationalism both within and without her own border. At one time nearly a third of her charges were vacant for lack of ministers to fill them; and in most of the towns, where the old custom prevailed of regarding all church members as forming one congregation no matter how many the individual charges might be, the ministry was very weak. In Amsterdam, with a Reformed community of 250,000, there were only thirty ministers. An annual decline of ten per cent in the membership was quite usual. Since the beginning of the present century, however, there has been a change. A breath of new life has come into the Church, a more positive teaching characterises the pulpits, rationalistic negations have ceased to be fashionable, and there is a vigorous note in the Church's work which is telling steadily on the people. The outlook indeed is not free from anxieties, the paucity of ministers being still very marked, but there are other things that cheer. Speaking at the Pittsburgh Council of the Presbyterian Alliance in 1921, Dr. Thomson of Amsterdam gave as his decided judgment that "the heart of Holland is sound, and the people are both deeply religious and philanthropic." In their thoughts, "Die Groote Kerk," as the National Church is usually termed,

which embraces 44 per cent of the population, and is linked with the stirring memories of Holland's heroic days, holds a place which is all her own.

The Reformed Churches of the Netherlands, as the united body of 1892 is named, has gone far since the day of union. With her 700 congregations, 554 ministers, and 225,935 members and adherents, she forms an important element in the religious life of the country. Under her forceful leaders, Kuyper and Bavinck, the difficult task has had to be undertaken of bringing an old-time religious people into right relations with the restless cultural life of to-day, so that they may receive the new impress without loss of the old religious conviction and spiritual fervour. To a large extent success has marked the difficult endeavour. The Presbyterian note, alike in the Church's constitution and inner life, is strong. Over the twelve Provincial Synods there is a General Synod which meets triennially, and it is interesting to note that the election of the President (or Moderator) is by ballot. Like the older Church, the younger has also felt the frost of rationalism, though not so severely. In 1920 some 200 of her charges were vacant, but as in 1923 there were 200 students in training at her two theological schools, Kampur and Amsterdam, the end of the shortage of ministers is in sight.

Between these two Presbyterian Churches of the Netherlands, so similarly named and possessed of a common ancestry, relations are increasingly cordial. Each sees something in the other which she herself would fain possess in larger measure. The Church which has hitherto specially prized her culture seeks now a deeper and stronger faith; and the Church whose faith has in the past been her glory desires now to possess some wider culture. In time this mutual regard cannot but bear its natural fruit. But Holland does not hasten.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN CENTRAL EUROPE

Of the Continental Presbyterian Churches the French and Dutch have an acknowledged historical pre-eminence, derived not only from the stirring incidents which have attended their progress, but also from the important part they have played in the wider development of the Presbyterian system. But besides these Churches there are others which are also Presbyterian in their government and Calvinistic in their creed, and whose past is likewise full of heroic faith and protracted suffering. Political complications, however, in some cases, geographical position and relentless persecution in others, have resulted in their isolation from the full stream of the Presbyterian life of Western Europe, and only since the formation of the General Presbyterian Alliance have they taken their place in the Catholic Presbyterian Church. A convenient classification of these less-known Churches is a threefold one—A. *Approximately Presbyterian Churches*, as the National Evangelical Church of Germany; B. *Historic Presbyterian Churches*, as the Churches of Bohemia, Hungary, and French Switzerland; C. *Nascent Presbyterian Churches*, as seen in Italy, Spain, Belgium, and elsewhere.

A. *Churches approximately Presbyterian*

The National Evangelical Church of Germany

The National Evangelical Church of Germany is a composite in which Lutheranism vastly predominates, but Presbyterian ingredients have never been wanting in her life and constitution. They are a heritage of the decree of the *Diet of Augsburg* (1555), which gave to every German prince the liberty of introducing and enforcing throughout his territory whatever form of Church he pleased—"*Cujus regio, ejus religio*"—a decree tolerant to the rulers but intolerant to the ruled, and the fruitful cause of divisions in German Protestantism.

1. **Introduction of Presbyterianism to the Palatinate.**—In 1559 Frederick III. succeeded to the rule of the Palatinate, and as an enthusiastic Calvinist did his utmost to induce his subjects to adopt his views. In the Upper Palatinate he failed, but in the Lower or *Rhine Palatinate* better fortune attended him, although his methods were not such as can be commended. In the University of Heidelberg Lutheran professors were got rid of, and Calvinistic theologians were brought from Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands to take their place. Similar measures were adopted in many of the more important charges, with the result that in a few years the whole of the Palatinate was a Calvinistic province, and up to a certain point its Church was Presbyterian. That it was not wholly so was due to Frederick's reluctance to allow the real direction of Church affairs to pass out of his own hands—a reluctance which was universal among Continental princes. But so far as the Church had power to move, she did so on Presbyterian lines, an enduring evidence of this being *The Heidelberg Catechism*, which was composed for local use in 1563 by two of Frederick's Calvinistic professors, *Olevianus*

and *Ursinus*, but was speedily recognised by all the Presbyterian Churches of Europe as a masterly compendium of their beliefs. By its softening of the harsher Calvinistic views on predestination and other points, and by the general moderation of its tone, it won its way to the place it still holds as one of the historic documents of Presbyterianism.

2. Presbyterianism in the Duchies of the Lower Rhine.—A very different cause led to the planting of Presbyterianism in the duchies to the immediate north of the Palatinate—not patronage but persecution. In 1545 the cruel measures of Charles V. drove numbers of his Walloon subjects to take refuge in the town of *Wesel* in the duchy of Cleves. Ten years later "Bloody" Mary's deeds in England and the growing hostility to the Huguenots in France forced many English and French Protestants to flee to the same haven; and when, in 1567, Alva's reign of terror began in the Netherlands, thousands of Dutchmen fled across the Rhine to the hospitable duchies. With so many Presbyterian refugees in the country the ecclesiastical aspect of affairs in Cleves underwent a change. The Lutheran theology yielded to the Calvinistic, and a modified Presbyterianism took the place of the Consistorial Church government. Joining hands with the Presbyterians of the Palatinate, these brethren of the persecuted churches now held Synods, and sought to improve the opportunity. Of these the most notable was the *Synod of Emden*, held in 1571, under the presidency of Caspar von der Heyden. It was a representative gathering of exiles from churches of many lands, and for the guidance of these churches it framed the *Emden Articles*—a series of articles closely following the French Confession of Faith, and embodying a complete scheme of Presbyterian Church government.

3. Later Course of Presbyterianism.—The Presbyterianism then introduced has continued ever since to be

a dominant feature of the ecclesiastical life of Western Germany, though, owing to the persistence with which the civil authorities have maintained their supremacy, it has never attained its full development. A new period was begun when, in 1815, those "Presbyterian" provinces where the "*Reformed*" Church prevailed, as contrasted with the "*Lutheran*," fell to Prussia. The Tercentenary of the Reformation (1817) appeared to Frederick William II. a favourable opportunity for uniting the two great Protestant Churches in his dominions, and accordingly there arose *The National Evangelical Church of Prussia.* It was the outcome of a compromise, in which Prussia's lead was followed by most of the German States. Each Church was suffered to retain her own standards and walk after her own ways. Elders, Presbyteries, and Synods continued prominent in the Reformed branch, while Consistories prevailed in the Lutheran.

For the preservation and development of the Presbyterian elements this policy of compromise did not prove advantageous. With the passage of the years, partly through the increasing development of the German nationalistic spirit, with which Lutheranism was more largely associated than was the Calvinism of the Reformed section, and partly from the inevitable pressure exercised by the larger ecclesiastical body upon the smaller, there set in a process so adverse to the continuance of the Presbyterian note as to evoke an active counter-movement on the part of the Reformed section of the Church. In 1884 there came into existence the famous *Reformirte Bund*, which has since gone from strength to strength, and whose aim as expressed by its leader, Professor Lang of Halle University, is: "Without idle controversies, without destruction of our brotherly connection with the German Lutherans, to maintain the residue of the Reformed institutions and spiritual forces,

and to build anew the old Reformed Churches in Germany." In pursuit of this aim the provision of hostels or "convicts," for students of theology of Reformed sympathies at several of the universities, is of special importance. Bonn, Halle, Erlangen, and Göttingen are thus equipped, while at Elberfeld has been established a Training College for the Reformed Ministry.

4. After the Great War. — Apart from the widespread dislocation of their work at home and its practical suspension abroad, the greatest change which the War has brought on the Churches of Germany has been their disestablishment — a radical step which followed the Revolution. By this event the National Evangelical Church was forced to face the problems of reconstruction, and to decide how the unsought liberty which had been thrust upon her could best be used. Earnest discussion and conferences, small and great, took place. The "Reformed" section of the Church, which numbers some 600,000 souls, urged a general application throughout the whole Church of Presbyterian principles and methods. The stronger and far more numerous Lutheran section, while not averse to many of these principles, clung to its traditional ways, by which the main government of the Church rested with the few rather than with the many. Of the result achieved after long debate, Professor August Lang, speaking at Zurich in 1923, reported: "The Evangelical Churches—State Churches until the Revolution—have made a new order for their life, but they have done so with a strange helplessness. There is not a clear ideal before their eyes. Presbyterianism is the base of the new Church order, but the consistories of the Old State Churches have remained in power. Moreover, an Episcopalian tendency, hitherto unknown in Germany, has manifested itself. Such a mixture of contrasts cannot be co-ordinated without sharp struggles in the future." In

effecting the final co-ordination the *Reformirte Bund* is destined to play an important part. It is the soul of the Presbyterianism of Germany.

B. *Historic Presbyterian Churches*

I. The Church of Bohemia (Czecho-Slovakia)

1. Origin.—In the land of Hus and Jerome, Presbyterianism of a modified type had found a home half a century before Calvin ruled in Geneva. So early as the middle of the fifteenth century the jealousies and wars of the two sections of the Hussites had led to the formation of a third Reformed community, whose members shrank in horror from the internecine strife, took the Bible as their only guide, and became noted for their lives of simple piety. These were the *Unitas Fratrum*, or *Brethren in Unity*, who formed the seed of future Bohemian Protestantism. As befitted a movement which was largely of the laity, the lay element, when growth necessitated organisation, maintained its position; and in the constitution adopted in 1496 Elders and Deacons were prominent. Practically it was a *Presbyterian Church*,—but with one peculiarity. As its highest office-bearer in each synodal district it had a Bishop, elected by the pastors, to which functionary, in conjunction with two or three co-Bishops, was committed the oversight of the Church. So rapidly did the brotherhood increase that we read of a Synod in 1557 being attended by 200 pastors, besides many laity of the nobility and other classes. It had become the true National Church of Bohemia. With the uprising of the Reformation in Western Europe this pre-Reformation Protestant Church came more into prominence, and, recognising its close affinity with the Genevan Church, sent warm salutations to Calvin, by whom they were cordially reciprocated.

2. Persecutions.—In 1619 Bohemia came under the sway of the Emperor Ferdinand II., a keen Romanist. Knowing what fate lay before them, the nobility attempted to evade it by inviting to the throne Frederick, the Elector-Palatine and son-in-law of the English Protestant monarch, James I. Frederick accepted the invitation and took the field, but the cautious father-in-law sent no help, and on the *White Hill*, near Prague, the insurrection was completely crushed by the imperial troops. Opposition had sharpened the Emperor's desire to root out all heresy, and with the Jesuits at his elbow to urge him on, he now inaugurated a course of bitter and prolonged persecution, whose brutalities were worthy of Alva. Into the silver mines of *Kuttenberg* 4000 Protestants were thrown headlong in a single year; at Prague 25 of the noblest in the land were executed; and throughout the country Protestant men, women, and children were the sport of a lewd and brutal soldiery. In his aim the Emperor was completely successful. Protestantism to all outward appearance was extirpated. In other lands a safe refuge and a ready welcome were accorded to the refugees who were fortunate enough to escape. *John Amos Comenius*, the famous educationist, who was at the time the senior Bishop of the Church, found a haven in the Netherlands; and still better known to fame, though nameless, is the company of fugitives who took refuge at Hennesdorf, in Saxony, and later on at *Herrnhut*, where they laid the foundation of the most devoted *Missionary Society* the world possesses. But in Bohemia the Church was not; and for nigh two centuries the iron hand of persecution prevented any resurrection.

3. Toleration.—In the end of the eighteenth century came the first opportunity of renewed life. *Joseph II.*, a humane and enlightened monarch, became Emperor of Austria, and in 1781 issued an *Edict of Toleration*. For

political reasons the old National Church of the Brethren was not permitted to reappear, but to Protestantism, either of the Reformed or the Lutheran type, there was granted toleration. The effect was a wonderful revelation of a hidden Protestantism. Ninety thousand declared themselves Protestants; seventy congregations in Bohemia and Moravia sprang into existence; Hungary supplied the needed pastors, and the land of Hus had again a Reformed Church. A period of rapid development seemed to be opening, when the Emperor died and was followed by a reactionary successor. The life which had been granted to the Protestant Churches became a bare existence, with every opportunity of expansion rigorously cut off. No intercourse was permitted with the Protestant Churches of the outside world; Protestant books and Bibles were stopped at the frontier; professedly National but really Romanist schools were entrusted with the education of all children; and a Romanist occupied the chair in the Ecclesiastical State Council which had the oversight of the Protestant Churches. From this cramping environment the Church escaped in 1861, when a more liberal constitution was granted, which resulted in greater prosperity. Towards the support of her ministers the State gave a small yearly grant of £1500, but refused the more valuable concession of a *Presbyterian Constitution* for the government of the Church. Over synods and superintendents still ruled the Ecclesiastical Council. The Church of Rome dominated the land. Protestantism continued to exist, but was not suffered to expand.

4. The New Era.—Fifty years later the great European War terminated the long period of oppression for the Church of Hus. In that war Bohemia had perforce to take the field under Austria's banner, but her heart was lukewarm, for it was evident that the defeat of the Central Powers would mean the break-up of Austria and the end

of Bohemia's servitude. Particularly was this felt by the Protestants of Bohemia, who realised that the political results of the war would have important bearings on the future of their Church. With the peace came many radical changes, one of the greatest being the creation in 1918 of a new independent European State, *Czecho-Slovakia*, whose population consisted of the Czechs of Bohemia, who for 300 years had been under Austria's heel, and the Slovaks of Hungary, who had suffered for long under Magyar rule. With Prague as its capital and a modern republican constitution, the old land of Hus entered on a new life, in which the Churches abundantly shared. Religious liberty and equal opportunity for all faiths was declared to be the policy of the new State, and a spiritual movement at once swept over the country, which brought striking readjustments of the old ecclesiastical order. From the Church of Rome there took place secessions on a scale unparalleled since the days of the Reformation. Half a million of the people and over one hundred priests formed the *National Catholic Church of Czecho-Slovakia*. To-day (1925) this non-Roman Church has trebled her numbers and lives in sisterly relations with the Protestant Churches of the land.

To Protestantism, which had lived through centuries of oppression, the day of opportunity brought healing and new strength. The Reformed and the Lutheran Churches united to form the *Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren*, a Church organised on essentially Presbyterian lines, and which has certified her Hussite descent by accepting as her historical standards the Bohemian Confession of 1575 and the Confession of the Brethren of Bohemia of 1662. Accessions to the number of 70,000 from the Church of Rome have greatly increased the numerical strength of the Church, which in 1923 had reached 234,000. A Faculty and School of Reformed

Theology in connection with the University of Prague supplies adequate training for her ministry, and no external hindrances now stand in the way of her advance. Numerically, indeed, the Church occupies a minor place in the population, seeing that the total Protestant community are scarce three per cent of the whole, but influentially she stands high. As the recognised Church of Hus, the great central figure in all Czech tradition, she holds a special place in the nation's thought. Her leading divines, such as the late Dr. Dusek and Dr. Benes, are national possessions, and in President Masaryk, the first President of the Republic, she has a devoted and loyal son. As an aggressive force the Church has been much aided by the close fellowship she has cherished with the Presbyterian Churches of Western Europe; particularly with the Scottish Churches, at whose theological colleges many of her leading ministers have been partly trained.

II. The Church of Hungary

1. Origin.—Somewhat similar in its course, but more fortunate in its issue, has been the history of Presbyterianism in Hungary. As in Bohemia, so here Lutheranism was first in the field, but Calvinism proved more enduring. At *Erdöd* in 1545 a synod of the Protestants adopted the *Augsburg Confession*, thereby declaring themselves Lutherans; but five years later the writings of the Genevan Reformers became known, and so cordial was the reception given, that in 1567, at the *Synod of Debreczen*, the *Second Helvetic Confession* and the *Heidelberg Catechism* were accepted as the standards of the Church. To these standards, through good report and ill, the Reformed Church of Hungary has ever since steadfastly adhered. Political changes which so nullified the Reformation in Bohemia had the contrary effect in Hungary. The middle of the

sixteenth century witnessed the partition of the ancient Hungarian kingdom into two parts, *Hungary proper* and *Transylvania*, when the latter had the good fortune to fall under the rule of Reformed, or at least tolerant, princes. For the Protestant Church it was a crowning mercy, as Debreczen became, under the mild rule, a fruitful centre of religious life affecting the whole kingdom. A check was given to the progress in 1602 by the invasion of Rudolph, the King of Hungary, who subdued Transylvania and began to persecute the Protestants; but the check was only temporary. His harsh measures provoked a revolt under the brave leader *Stephen Bocskay*, a Protestant noble, which was completely successful; and in 1606, by the treaty of Vienna, the independence of Transylvania was acknowledged. The victory gave seventy more years of peace and prosperity to the Reformed Church, allowing her to fix her roots deep in the life of the people before the day of her greatest trial should dawn.

2. **Persecutions.**—That day dawned in 1677, when Leopold I. of Hungary commenced a determined persecution of his Protestant subjects. The pastors were commanded to embrace Romanism, and on their refusal, imprisonment, exile, the galleys, and in some instances death, were the penalties meted out. In the trials of the Hungarian Church the Church of Transylvania shared, the principality having lost its independence during Leopold's reign. Often without pastors, deprived of many of their churches, and refused toleration for their creed, the Protestants spent a century of bitter humiliation, which was at last ended with the issue of the *Edict of Toleration* of Joseph II. (1781). From that day of rejoicing the Hungarian Church resumed her onward march. Many difficulties and much irritating opposition she had ever to contend against, but the independent position of Hungary in the Austro-Hungarian Union rendered her progress

less hard than would otherwise have been the case. Nor will any help be undeserved which the Hungarians may bestow upon the Church. As a sagacious and not ultra-Protestant writer has truly said, "The Protestant Church was the means of keeping alive their national aspirations, the outcome of the traditions of the past, and leavening these with dreams of moral and material progress and spiritual liberty. The spirit of Protestantism is the source of the magnetic power which is enabling Hungary to realise her national dreams. For at the present time, hemmed in by Catholicism on all sides, the intellectual backbone of the country, the small nobility, is Protestant, and that of a Calvinistic type" (*Realm of the Hapsburgs*).

3. **Unity and Progress.**—Until the year 1881 the territorial divisions of former centuries were perpetuated in the Church, her 2000 congregations and 200,000 members being divided amongst five provincial churches; but in that year, when a great National Synod met at *Debreczen*, the walls of separation were broken down, and Hungarian Presbyterianism received a unity it previously lacked. Through her long isolation from other Presbyterian Churches, the Hungarian Church was free to develop on lines of her own choosing, and in one respect the development was quite unique. Over each *Tractus* (Church-county or Presbytery) was placed a dual presidency, a *Senior* elected from the ministers and a *Coadjutor Curator* chosen from the elders; while in like manner the oversight of each of the five provinces was entrusted to a clerical *Superintendent*, along with a lay *Curator* from the eldership. Presbyterian parity was thus emphasised, while Episcopal superintendence was secured. In her work the Hungarian Church has been noted above all for her *educational zeal*. By the side of every parish church was planted from the beginning a parish school, to ensure the Protestant training of the children, an important point in Roman Catholic lands.

High schools and colleges completed the system, and, save during the time of the persecutions, these were most sedulously maintained. Their support and prosperity continued to be one of the main cares of the Church, more especially since the establishment of "confessionless" but really Romanist schools by the State imposed the burden of supporting the Reformed schools entirely on the shoulders of the Church. A staff of 5000 teachers and an attendance of 300,000 pupils showed how well the duty was performed, and gave good promise for the future of Hungarian Presbyterianism.

4. The Great War.—Upon the Church thus prospering the Great European War brought overwhelming disaster. For the Reformed Church in Hungary the issue proved as calamitous as for the Church in Bohemia it was propitious. As a nation the Magyars sided whole-heartedly with the Germanic powers, and with defeat came political penalties of an extremely severe order. Hungary was broken into fragments. Great portions of its territory in the north, south, and west were rent away, and incorporated in Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, and Jugo-Slavia, leaving Hungary one-third of its former size, and with little over one-third of its former population. In the disruption of the country the Reformed Church shared proportionately, for each territorial divorce involved a like ecclesiastical tragedy. The Church's unified organisation secured in 1881 disappeared, since in each of the separated areas the new Government insisted on a severance of all ecclesiastical connection of their new subjects with Hungary. Strong efforts were made by the Presbyterian Churches of Western Europe, through their own Governments, and by the agency of the Presbyterian Alliance, to avert this great cleavage in the Hungarian Church, but in vain. All they could secure was a guarantee in the Peace Treaty that full religious liberty and protection

would be continued to each separated section of the Church. Racial antagonisms and political distrust prevented further concessions, with the result that to-day (1925) the Hungarian Church is a Church disrupted against her will, "sliced into four," as one of her sons has forcibly described her condition.

5. The Disrupted Church.—(1) Of the four sections by far the largest is the central portion, which Hungary has retained within its own borders, and which is still regarded by all the sections as their mother Church, retaining the old name—*The Hungarian Reformed Church.* Half the Church's pre-war strength has gone, but with 1009 congregations and 1,575,000 adherents she remains a great Church. Material poverty and insufficiency of ministers press hardly at present, but there is a courageous facing of the new conditions and a deepening as well as a widening in the spiritual life, which augurs well for the future. In the thought of the nation the Church stands high, and its place in the national life is indicated by the fact that at present six of the ten members of the Hungarian Cabinet belong to her membership.

(2) Second in size and importance is the *Magyar Reformed Church in Transylvania Roumania*, with her 783 congregations and 780,000 adherents. Her lot to-day is one of suffering and sorrow, caused by the treatment meted out to her by the Roumanian Government, and the cold, even antagonistic, attitude of the dominant Greek Orthodox Church. As Magyars her people are still "suspect" by the Government, and as Protestants they are felt to be aliens by the Greek Church. There is opposition both civil and ecclesiastical, and the guarantees of liberty and protection which were signed by Roumania have not been fulfilled. Of these facts a responsible commission of inquiry, sent on behalf of the Presbyterian

Alliance in 1920, gave abundant confirmation :—"Our Transylvanian brethren have been and are still subject to cruel misunderstanding, disability, spoliation, and personal violence. Their historic spiritual liberties are flouted or ignored, their schools, church courts, ecclesiastical organisations thwarted or suppressed ; and no attempt is being made to honour the minority-protection clauses which Roumania has subscribed, and without which the Western Powers would never have made the territorial re-settlement in its favour." This severe indictment has not been answered. Presbyterianism in Transylvania, in 1925, is still under the cross.

(3) *The Magyar Reformed Church in Czecho-Slovakia* is represented by 280 congregations and a community of 210,000. Dispossessed of all her invested funds, on her severance from Hungary, deprived of her old Theological School, hindered by the Czecho-Slovakian Government from sending her students outside the State for training, discouraged and at times forbidden to use the Hungarian language in her schools and in her public worship, this Church is greatly handicapped. Through the aid of the larger Reformed Church of Hus (from which, however, the Magyar Church keeps apart), it may be expected that these disabilities will gradually disappear. Meantime the members of this Church of the disruption are showing the courage becoming their ancestry, in facing the difficult situation.

(4) *The Reformed Church in Jugo-Slavia* is the least numerous of the sections of the old Hungarian Church, and in her composition she is less uniform than the others. The Church is the resultant of a union between the new Magyar population included in this young State and the other Protestant inhabitants. Her adherents number 60,000, two-thirds being Magyars and one-third of Germanic origin. Here also political regulations born of

caution impose grave restrictions on the Church, which hinder progress. Magyar schools are discouraged and suppressed, Church property is frequently sequestrated, and a shortage in the ministry is aggravated by the Church being forbidden to "call" ministers from Hungarian territory. Still the bush burns, and does not burn out.

This severe break-up of the old Church of Hungary has been a disaster to Protestantism as well as to the Presbyterianism of Eastern Europe, but it is permissible to hope that in its acutest form the disruption may not be permanent. It has originated in political fears, and not to any great extent in religious antagonisms. If and when the new political divisions consolidate, and the anxieties of the respective Governments lessen, some approach at least to the former unity of the Church, which for four hundred years was the vanguard of Protestantism in Eastern Europe, may reasonably be expected. But the time is not yet.

III. The Church in Switzerland

Among Presbyterian Historic Churches, which have survived rather than flourished, are included, strangely enough, those of Switzerland. The honour paid to the great prophet of Geneva by the country of his adoption has been pitiably small, as compared with that accorded him by the great world outside. For this strange result the *Cantonal* system of Switzerland is mainly to blame. Under that system each canton had the choosing of its own ecclesiastical policy, and when the choice was originally made all but three of the Protestant cantons gave their voice for the methods of Zwingli. The three faithful were those of French Switzerland—*Geneva*, *Vaud*, and *Neuchatel*. For a hundred and fifty years after the first reforming outburst these three Churches slumbered peacefully, troubling not

the outer world and by it untroubled. In communicating the impulse to the Reformed Churches of Europe, Switzerland seemed to have exhausted her energies. But when, towards the close of the eighteenth century, the evangelical revival took place in Britain, the French cantons awoke from their lethargy and the old spirit reappeared in the Churches. In all three the revival of life was attended with ecclesiastical divisions.

1. **The Church of Geneva.**—With a peculiar fitness the new impulse came to Geneva from Scotland—the land which owed so much to Calvin. In 1817 the Scottish evangelist, Robert Haldane, visited the city, and by his apostolic earnestness roused a band of young churchmen from their lethargy. César Malan, Merle d'Aubigne, Gaussen, and others, catching his spirit, made Geneva ring with an Evangel long unheard. To the Church as a whole the movement was unwelcome, disturbing as it did the peaceful quiet of a century, and with the hope of arresting its progress she deposed Malan from her ministry. But the result was not according to her hopes. Congregations were formed outside her pale, and the contagion rapidly spread. To provide an Evangelical training for the young ministers such as could no longer be assured at the old Academy, D'Aubigne and Gaussen established an Evangelical School of Theology (1832), and when in consequence they also were deposed, the cause of the dissidents rapidly advanced. Still further to help the movement, it happened that simultaneously with these oppressive acts a civil movement was in progress for the purpose of drawing the Church more completely under the control of the State, and approximating in other respects to the Zwinglian methods. Since the days of Calvin the management of the Church had been vested in the *Venerable Company* of pastors, and in the Consistory; but now that power was gradually being removed. In 1834 the *Venerable Company* lost the

management of the old Academy of Beza; in 1847 it was shorn of its ancient privilege of deciding on the qualifications of aspirants to the ministry, and in the same year the Council of State abolished the Confession of Faith. This assumption of vital spiritual powers by the State caused many of the Evangelical party to secede, and in 1849 the *Free Evangelical Church* of Geneva came into existence. Limited in her area of expansion the growth of this Church has been slow, reaching in 1921 only to 4 parishes and a membership of 721, but her high spiritual tone and loyalty to evangelical truth have helped much in adding to her influence. As an active link between the Protestantism of Switzerland and the Presbyterian Churches of Britain and America, the Church has played a very useful part.

Relieved of many of her more distinctly "Evangelical" members the *National Church* succumbed more easily to the pressure of the State, and since 1874 there has been an approximation to the Zwinglian type in her life and constitution. The Consistory, of which no pastor may be chairman, is largely a lay board responsible to the State: and the historic "Venerable Company of Pastors" has been described by Professor Bouvier as "no longer anything but a consulting body, whose principal work seems now to be to gather and bring to light all the *memorabilia* of the past." Nevertheless, despite these drawbacks, the Church with her 16,000 members is the main Protestant body in the canton, and of late is tending increasingly to assert her place in the public life. This was demonstrated in 1920, when on her initiative a Referendum was taken throughout Switzerland which resulted in the decision to close all gambling saloons in the country on the expiry of five years. The spirit of Calvin still lives.

2. The Church of Vaud.—Somewhat different has been the course of affairs in the canton of Vaud. Here the leader in the new movement was the celebrated *Alexandre*

Vinet, ablest of modern Swiss theologians. In his later life *Lausanne* was the scene of his activity ; and there, in 1845, as the result of his advocacy of separation of Church and State, on the State seeking to use the Church as a political agent, one hundred ministers seceded to form the *Free Evangelical Church of Vaud.* This Church now possesses 5627 communicants, and is specially distinguished by her zeal for Foreign Missions. Over the *National Church* of the Vaud canton the Government continues to assert its supremacy, but usually only to the extent of reviewing the Church's decisions so as to satisfy itself that no *civil* right has been interfered with.

3. **The Church of Neuchatel.**—In the *National Church* of Neuchatel, which honours *Farel* as its founder and the veteran *Godet* as its chief living teacher, division did not occur till 1873. Then the State attempted to deprive the Church of her old independence by introducing Zwinglian methods of government. The Church was identified with the nation, absolute freedom in creed was granted to ministers, and from the Synod all legislative power was removed. Against such crippling enactments protests were made in vain, and accordingly, in 1873, Godet and a large minority seceded, to found the flourishing *Evangelical Church of Neuchatel*, which in 1924 possessed 15,000 members and included one-third of the population of the canton. In 1919 negotiations were opened between the two Churches with a view to union, and later a tentative Confession of Faith was considered, but while the spirit of unity persists the act of union is still delayed.

4. **Post-war Conditions.**—In the Great War Switzerland was neutral ground, but her people were in daily touch with members of all the belligerent European nations, who from various causes sought asylum on Swiss soil. Particularly was this true of the Churches, which in works of Christian charity co-operated with each other,

and with the great religious organisations of other lands. For the Protestantism of Switzerland, and particularly for its Presbyterianism, these contacts and new experiences have proved highly beneficial. In the numerous cantonal Churches which formerly had been isolated in their life, ultra-"liberal" in their creeds, and in varying measure Erastian in their government, many changes have begun to appear. A marked desire for greater unity is universal, while almost as manifest is a growing emphasis on the evangelical note and a deepening realisation of the spiritual function of the Church. Definite indication of these changes has been given in the formation of the *Federation of the Evangelical Reformed Churches of Switzerland*, an association which includes not only the cantonal Zwinglian Churches, but also the Free Evangelical Churches of French-speaking Switzerland. As yet the annual meeting of this Federation, which represents all the Reformed Churches of Switzerland and embraces a community of 2,218,000 souls, has no authority over the constituent Churches, but it marks a great advance in the unity of Swiss Presbyterianism. Of hardly less importance is the fact that in 1922, largely under the inspiration of Dr. Adolf Keller of Zurich, the Federation formally entered the world-wide Alliance of Presbyterian Churches. By thus uniting themselves with the wider Presbyterianism the Churches of Switzerland have opened a channel along which the more powerful Presbyterian Churches of the West may repay, in some degree, the debt they owe to the land of Calvin.

C. *Nascent Presbyterian Churches*

There are still countries in Christian Europe where Protestantism is only in its infancy. In Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Belgium the efforts of Rome to check the reforming movement in the sixteenth century were so

entirely successful that Protestantism was crushed, and all trace of the Presbyterian Churches which had been forming disappeared. But with the growing political liberalism of recent generations an opportunity has been afforded for Protestantism to reappear, and, true to past memories, the lines on which the Protestant beginnings are being made are mostly those of Presbyterianism.

1. Presbyterianism in Italy.—The unification of Italy under a constitutional government in 1861 marked the opportunity for Protestantism arising in the land. Up to that time the only Protestant Churches tolerated in Italy had been those in connection with the foreign consulates, or established for the benefit of foreign commercial residents. Presbyterianism had been *in* Italy but not *of* it; but now that religious freedom was declared to be the law of the land, it was possible for an *Italian* Protestant Church to be born. The foster-mother was ready. On the southern slopes of the Cottian Alps, in the Piedmont valleys, lingered the remnants of the old *Waldensian Church*. The greater portion of the Waldensian community had been swallowed up in the course of years by the Reformed Churches of Switzerland, but the southern or Italian branch had retained its individuality; and, perfecting its old semi-Presbyterian constitution, had survived through frequent persecution and abiding penury. By it the opening of the gates of Italy was recognised as a call from God to go in and possess the land, and for the last fifty years this small Waldensian Church has laboured incessantly in the cause of Protestant truth. The Constitution granted to Piedmont by the Sardinian king in 1849 was its first opportunity. Churches which were established in *Turin*, *Genoa*, and elsewhere grew rapidly, as much through the arrival of Protestant refugees from the Papal Dominion as from local additions. But with the full political development of 1861 wider operations

were entered on. From Turin the centre of operations was shifted to *Florence*, where, through the help of Dr. Stewart, the revered Free Church minister of the Scots Church at Leghorn, the old Palazzo Salviati was secured and converted into a Training College for Waldensian evangelists. Inch by inch in the early days the battle for toleration had to be fought, but now that the tolerance of the law is generally realised, a more open field is given to the work of the evangelists. The withdrawal of all temporal power from the Papacy in 1870 was a further aid to progress, and step by step the Church of the Valleys extended her operations, gaining a foothold in several centres, including Milan, Rome, and far south Sicily.

Since the Great War the developments have been numerous. In the armies of Italy her Protestant sons, though few in number, played their part nobly in the struggle, and thereby did much to compel a recognition of the place of Protestantism in the religious life of the nation. A greater boldness in the conception and the execution of her national duty appeared in the Church. In 1919 the Theological College was transferred from Florence to Rome, while in 1920 the first Evangelical Italian Congress met, also in Rome,—an audacity on the part of the Protestants unprecedented and unrebuked. The Church's headquarters remain at Torre Pellice among the Alpine slopes, and there the Synod meets annually. During the year full power rests in the hands of a permanent commission known as "The Table," which controls operations throughout Italy.

Numerically the *Waldensian Evangelical Church in Italy* is still small, with her 63 congregations and 20,000 members; but her operations are wide, extending to over 300 centres, and her influence penetrates many circles. In 1921 five generals in the Italian army were reported as belonging to the Church; the mayor of Venice at that

time was a Waldensian, and the excellent educational work of the Church secures continually a ready entrance for her teachers into the highest Italian circles. Among the smallest of the Presbyterian Churches of Europe, this Church has the distinction of being the oldest in respect of her continuous existence and unbroken witness to Evangelical truth.

2. Presbyterianism in Spain.—Spanish Presbyterianism is yet more recent, its initiation being due to certain Scottish friends who, in 1852, formed the *Spanish Evangelisation Society* for the purpose of distributing the Bible through this most ignorant of all European lands. Persecutions in 1860 drove the most prominent Protestants into exile, and at Gibraltar the refugees, like the Dutch exiles at Emden, adopted a Creed and Constitution for the Reformed Church to be. The Creed was the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the Constitution was Presbyterian.

By the Revolution of 1868 the door was opened for the exiles to return, with freedom to worship God as they pleased, but there is little else that is free. Socially, politically, and ecclesiastically the Protestants of Spain, who number about 10,000, are victimised by their disabilities. The Presbyterians since 1886 have combined to form the *Spanish Evangelical Church*, with 32 congregations, 1000 members, and 3 Presbyteries. For support and progress the Church has been greatly indebted to the Irish Presbyterian Church and the United Free Church of Scotland.

3. Presbyterianism in Belgium.—After the despotic measures of Alva, Protestantism became practically extinct in the southern portion of the Netherlands, later known as Belgium, and continued well-nigh invisible for over two centuries. Where in the sixteenth century 600 ministers had served a large Protestant population, there were in the

beginning of the nineteenth century only seven Protestant congregations, four of which consisted of immigrants from other lands. In 1807 these seven leagued together to form what has since developed into the *Union of Reformed Churches in Belgium*, which to-day has 24 congregations and over 7000 members. In accordance with the Belgian system of concurrent endowment for all religious bodies, this Church receives her portion of the national aid.

In 1837 a group of her members, who were impressed with the impoverishment of their country in Evangelical truth, charged themselves with the duty of doing something to supply the need. An Evangelical Mission to the Belgian people was begun, and in time the organisation developed into the *Missionary Christian Church of Belgium*. This Church has all along been distinguished for her Home Mission work, and to-day her operations extend to seven of the nine provinces of Belgium: she has also served herself heir to the Church of the early days by adopting as her creed the *Confessio Belgica* of the sixteenth century. Her membership is about the same as that of the United Reformed Church, but her congregations are more numerous.

The two Churches work harmoniously as sisters, and in much of their Home evangelisation, as also in the whole of their Foreign Mission work, they have joint organisations. Necessity as well as Christian principle compels this. The population of Belgium is over eight millions and is strongly Roman Catholic: the Protestants number only forty thousand.

Upon these two small Presbyterian Churches the Great War told heavily. "Their people belonged almost exclusively to the poorer working classes, being mostly miners and factory hands. Great numbers died, either in battle or in deportation, whilst the remainder are starved, sickly, tubercular, and deprived of work until industrial

conditions are re-established." So wrote Dr. Kennedy Anet, the beloved veteran, after the war had ended. But there have been compensations. Roman clericalism is less powerful in Belgium than of old; the intercourse with the Protestant Allies has had its effect; individual accessions from the more cultured classes are not infrequent; and that the Protestant Church, though small, has a place in Belgium is more widely recognised than in former days. Particularly was this shown in Brussels on 1st July 1923, when the 400th anniversary of the burning of the two first Protestant martyrs of the Reformation, was commemorated. Eighty members of the two Synods, accompanied by Protestant delegates from other lands, "walked in procession to the historic Hotel de Ville, followed by 2000 people, and were received by the Burgomaster." It was a new thing in Belgium and carried its message of hope. Still the fight for existence and even modest growth continues hard, and in carrying on the struggle the Presbyterianism of Belgium has specially valued the practical sympathy rendered by the larger Churches of Britain and America.

4. Presbyterian Fragments. — Among other consequences which the Great War had on Presbyterianism has been the reduction of several small Reformed communities in Eastern Europe to an almost fragmentary condition.

In *Russia* prior to the war there were 25 prosperous congregations of the Reformed Communion scattered over her vast area, mainly German in origin and speech. Of these, as the result of Bolshevik rule, there remained in 1924 only two, one in Moscow, the other in Odessa, both being in an attenuated condition.

In *Poland*, where for two hundred years the Reformed Church had been persistently kept under by strong Jesuit influence, the war has caused a further shrinkage of the

old Church; only seven congregations survived, three dating their history back to Reformation days. Some added strength, however, has attended the transfer of the province of Galicia from Austria to Poland. With the territory there has come a small Reformed community of 8000 souls. In combination with the Lutherans and other smaller bodies this makes Protestantism visible at least in Poland; and in 1924 the Government recognised the fact by sanctioning the establishment of an Evangelical Faculty of Theology at Warsaw.

In *Lithuania*, which suffered greatly in the course of the war, and by the peace settlement was dismembered, the small Reformed Church has endured severe hardships. Four of her parishes have passed under Bolshevik rule, and the congregations have died: six parishes went to Poland, and there too the Church is extinct; and to the Lithuanian Church, which dates from the Reformation, there are left only 11 congregations and 13,000 adherents. But these are now in an independent country, and though extremely poor, yet at the first post-war Synod held at Birzai in 1921 they faced the future with undaunted courage and hope. The Protestants number in all only 3 per cent of the population, "a small island in a great Roman sea": yet the fact that half the members of the first national Cabinet were Protestants is significant of much.

Of the 260,000 Protestants who are found to-day in much shrunken *Austria*, the great majority are Lutherans; only 20,000 belong to the Reformed (or Presbyterian) Church, and of these 14,000 reside in Vienna. In Vienna's worst days after the war, the Presbyterian Churches of the West gave timely help to this small Reformed community, and enabled it to begin its new career with good hope.

What the future holds for these fragments of Presby-

terianism, whose environment is so hostile to their expansion, cannot be definitely predicted. Present symptoms, however, indicate a strong tendency to unite with other Protestant fragments similarly circumstanced, notably with those of Lutheran origin, and so consolidate the forces of Protestantism in lands where its witness is greatly needed.

CHAPTER VII

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN SCOTLAND

A. The Church of Scotland

For three centuries Scotland has been the centre of Presbyterianism. In no other country did the system, inaugurated by Calvin at Geneva, find so speedy and perfect an embodiment as here. By a happy combination of circumstances, the civil checks which prevented Continental Presbyterianism from developing its full powers were not sufficiently strong in Scotland to work similar harm, and as a consequence the Scottish Church was planted on a foundation so firm and on principles so free that it may be regarded as forming the crown of European Presbyterianism. It also formed the starting-point of the wider Presbyterianism established in the lands across the seas—in the United States of America, Canada, and Australasia. Into the story of all these great churches its history enters: its heroes and martyrs, its struggles and its victories, its virtues and its defects—all are shared by them. The full history of this *Mother Church of Presbyterianism* has been told in many another volume: here there is given only a summary of the most notable events.

1. The Church of Knox.—The First General Assembly of the Reformed Church of Scotland met in 1560, and

announced to the world the end of the Scottish struggle with Rome. Prudent guidance of the new system and a careful watch against the schemes of the old, were required so long as Mary lived, but the real struggle was ended. Fortunately for Scotland, the man who had led the way to victory was well qualified for the equally arduous task of maintaining the position which had been won. In *John Knox*, whom Carlyle terms "the one Scotchman to whom of all others his country and the world owe a debt," the Reformed Church possessed a leader of deep religious convictions, invincible courage, wide knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs, and a varied experience of men and manners. In England, Frankfort, and Geneva he had lived and learned. Episcopacy, Lutheranism, and Presbyterianism had all passed under his observation, and of his experience Scotland now reaped the benefit. To the Reformed Church, in consultation with others, he supplied in quick succession a *Creed*, a *Constitution*, and a *Service*, all of which were marked by a breadth of view and a freedom from extremes to which in later days the Church has longingly looked back. (1) *The Confession of Faith*, which represented the Creed, was on the usual Calvinistic lines, but with a softening of the harsher positions; while, distinguishing it from all similar documents, is the humility of its preface, where possible error is acknowledged and amendment volunteered on Scriptural refutation being forthcoming. (2) *The Constitution of the Church*, as set forth in the *First Book of Discipline*, showed a like indebtedness in its main features to Geneva, but had also its distinguishing peculiarities. *Ministers*, *Teachers*, *Elders*, and *Deacons* were recognised as the only office-bearers whose office had Scriptural sanction, but to meet the needs of the hour Knox did not hesitate to develop the spirit of the early code, even though in so doing he might seem to

transgress the letter. There were but twelve Protestant ministers for the whole of Scotland—a most inadequate staff. To the Scriptural offices were therefore added those of *Superintendent* and *Reader*, the former being entrusted with the oversight and development of districts, while the latter, under his orders, maintained the ordinances of worship in outlying parts. Semi-Episcopal in their functions as the Superintendents were, the principle of Presbyterian parity was not transgressed. They remained Presbyters in subjection to the General Assembly. In the institution of this class of office-bearers may perhaps be seen one effect of the Reformer's contact with Lutheranism. (3) By the *Book of Common Order*, last creation of his busy brain, Knox completed his provision for the Church's literary needs, and supplied a semi-liturgical order of service which gave voice to the devotions of Scotsmen for eighty years. The firm establishment of the Church thus equipped was the work of the Reformer's later years, and in the face of much opposition he succeeded. He could not indeed rescue the property of the Church from the rapacity of the nobility, save in part, but in thoroughly crushing the power of Rome in Scotland, and in securing the existence of the Reformed Church as a spiritual power in the land, he was completely successful.

2. The Church of Melville.—The triumph of Protestantism did not mean rest to Presbyterianism, for no sooner had the contest with Rome ended than there began a fierce and prolonged fight with *Prelacy*. The Church of Knox was Presbyterian, but of a broad and flexible type, and when it was proposed, for the purpose of legally drawing the revenues attached to the former bishoprics, that certain ministers should be entitled "Bishops" for mere name's sake, no serious objection was taken. No doubt the gilding of the pill deceived some. But the

natural result appeared when the existence of Bishops for name's sake gave rise to a distinct Episcopal party, which aimed at the introduction of real Episcopal government in the Church. The danger to Presbyterianism was great. Episcopacy has never been so near becoming the national Church system in Scotland as it was in those early days, and in all likelihood, had it not been for the appearance of *Andrew Melville* on the scene, Episcopacy would have triumphed. This "Scottish Hildebrand," as Dean Stanley calls him, after a course of study at Paris and Geneva, where he had sat at the feet of Beza and become an ardent Presbyterian, returned to Scotland in 1574, two years after Knox's death. His scholarship and character at once gave him the leadership in the Church, and made it an easy thing for him to impress upon her his own strong Presbyterian views. From the Greek New Testament he proved to the Assembly that the offices of Bishop and Presbyter were identical, and that of any other Bishop than the simple Presbyter Scripture knew nothing. The Assembly resolved that the Scottish Church should adhere to this position. Bishops and Superintendents were deposed from office, and "pure" Presbyterianism was established. The *Second Book of Discipline*, which was approved by the Assembly in 1578, completed the Constitution of the Church, the government being entrusted to an ascending series of councils, as continues to be the case to the present day. In thus insisting on the *divine right* of Presbytery and the unlawfulness of Episcopacy, Melville went beyond the position of Knox, and undoubtedly narrowed the spirit of the Scottish Church. To-day we have returned to Knox's standpoint, and, while maintaining that Presbytery is best, do not deny that Episcopacy may be good. But these views would not have saved Presbyterianism for Scotland. For that, Melville's doctrine was a necessity. Against nobles who were eager for the spoils

which would come to them through Episcopacy, and kings who by their "divine right" would fain have imposed an ecclesiastical system more consonant with despotic rule, only men who were equally dogmatic in their Presbyterianism could have made headway. The very narrowing of Presbyterianism proved its salvation.

3. **The Century of Struggle—Presbytery versus Episcopacy** (1584–1688).—The century following Melville was one of unceasing controversy with Episcopacy, in the course of which Presbytery oftener than once was overthrown. For this it had to thank the Stuart kings. *James VI. and I.* while in Scotland had lauded Presbyterianism to the skies, and by the Act of 1592 had given it full civil sanction, but when called to the English throne he changed his mind, and became enamoured of Episcopacy. Henceforth nothing would satisfy him but to assimilate the Scottish Church to her southern sister; and so long as he lived he worked for this end. Melville, the arch-Presbyter, was driven into banishment, and in 1610 his "unscriptural" Bishops were imposed upon the Scottish Presbyters. But so cautious in his measures was King James, that beyond grumbling discontent little resentment was shown by the Church. It was otherwise when his successor, *Charles I.*, sought to carry matters with a high hand, and, urged on by Laud, openly asserted the royal supremacy by imposing Ecclesiastical Canons and a new Service-book upon the Scottish Church. The uproar in *St. Giles' Cathedral* in 1637, when the first attempt to use the book was made, followed by the signing of the *National Covenant*, when nobles and citizens covenanted with God to defend their religious rights, gave evidence that the spirit of Melville still lived. At one blow an *Assembly at Glasgow* (1638) cast down Episcopacy and restored to the Church her old Presbyterian system, when, fortunately for the bold Presbyters, the King's troubles with his English

subjects compelled him to stifle his resentment, and the Church was left untouched. The brief period of Presbyterian supremacy which followed was signalised by the notable episode of the *Solemn League and Covenant* (1643), and by the memorable *Westminster Assembly* (1643–1648), when the Standards which have ruled in the Church ever since were framed by English divines and commissioners from the Church of Scotland. With the Restoration (1660) the troubles of Presbytery began anew. The young King, Charles II., having adopted the Episcopal cause as his own, a fresh consignment of Bishops was sent down to Scotland, and Presbytery was driven into the wilderness. To Scotland's shame be it said, that in the cruel persecution which followed the King's chosen agents were men of Scottish birth. For eight years Scottish Presbyterians had to experience the trials which their continental brethren knew so well. It was a crime to be a loyal Presbyterian, and, by a system of dragonnades, marked by blood and cruelty, the royal troops sought to enforce submission to the authority of Episcopacy. It is not to be wondered at that, under such discipline, the spirit of *the Covenanters* did not grow sweet and tolerant. Heroic they were even unto death, but with man's hand so strong against them their hearts grew narrow and bitter. Austerity in life and narrowness in religion became the tests of piety; tolerance of Episcopacy or attendance at a curate's service was held to be a mark of low religious life; mutually suspicious sects sprang up, each thinking the other was betraying the cause. Yet the Church had need of all. Without the *dour* Covenanters, the Presbyterian banner would surely have gone down in those awful days; and, on the other hand, but for the presence of the more moderate party, it is very doubtful if, when the day of deliverance came, that banner would again have been placed over the National Church of Scotland. The day came in 1688, when the last of the Stuart

kings fled before an enraged nation, and William of Orange ascended the throne. Presbyterian though he was, he would not force his Church upon the people; but when the Scottish Convention declared that "Prelacy was contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, and ought to be abolished," William acceded to the request. In 1690 the long warfare came to an end, and Church Government by Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assembly was re-affirmed as the only Government of the National Church. This was finally ratified by the Act of Security, in the Treaty of Union with England in 1707, by which it was declared to be unalterable and an essential condition of the Union.

4. Scottish Zeal for Presbytery.—It is important to note how it was that Presbytery came to gain such a hold on the heart of the Scottish people, for only a very strong devotion could have kept up a struggle such as that of the seventeenth century. The main contributing causes seem to have been three. (1) *The Reformation had been due to Presbyterians.* Presbytery was the first love of Reformed Scotland, and to that the heart of the people beat true. Knox and Melville, the heroes of the early Reforming days, were Presbyters, and Presbyterian were also the great laymen who had upheld the national cause, Moray and Argyll. The spell of personality, most potent in guiding the affections of any people, was so overwhelmingly on the Presbyterian side, that for Scotland to have abandoned Presbytery would have meant her severance from her greatest sons. (2) *The folly of the Episcopal Party* helped largely to the result. Thrice was Episcopacy the dominant polity in Scotland, but each time it owed its success to the aid of royalty. Never was it chosen by the freewill of the people, but either by cajolery or violence it was thrust upon them. Inevitably it became identified in the popular mind with tyranny, and its chief repre-

sentatives were not of a kind to hinder this identification. Some great names it has, but with the notable exception of the saintly Leighton, none have exercised any strong attractive power on the national heart. (3) But a deeper reason for the Scottish love of Presbytery than either of these is the *Independence of the Scottish national character*. Presbytery did not create this independence, it was there before the Reformation; but in Presbytery it found a more congenial system and a fuller scope for development than Episcopacy could offer. Episcopacy might recognise the interest of the people in the welfare of the Church, but Presbytery, by its system of popular Courts, gave to every man a practical power in the Church's management. The one provided a Church *for* the people; the other made *of* the people themselves a Church. Scotland chose the latter, and she has not repented of her choice. Divisions and secessions from the Church of the Revolution there have been, but secessions from Presbyterianism there have been none.

5. Divisions within the Church.—The year 1712 supplies the key to divisions of the Scottish Presbyterianism. It was then that the fatal Act was passed by Queen Anne's Parliament which reimposed *lay patronage* on the Church of Scotland, and thereby sowed the seed of future controversy. According to the Presbyterian ideal, two and only two factors are essential for the proper settlement of a minister in a charge, viz. the *Call* by the congregation, and *Collation*, after inquiry, by the Presbytery. The privileges of the Christian people and the well-being of the Church are thus alike conserved. By the Revolution Settlement a system had been introduced which was an approach to this ideal. Private patronage, which had been in force hitherto, was abolished, and the nomination of a minister entrusted to the lay heritors and elders. Their nominee, if approved by the congregation, and judged fit by the Presbytery, was entitled to collation.

It was a prudent compromise, and worked reasonably well, but after being the law of the Church for over twenty years, it was arbitrarily annulled by the Government, and private patronage reimposed (1712). In vain did the Assembly protest and plead that it was a breach of the Treaty of Union, which had safeguarded the Scottish Church from parliamentary interference. For the first time, but not for the last, English ignorance of Scottish ecclesiastical affairs resulted in the British Parliament's inflicting a serious blow on Scotland's Church.

The fruits of the action in due course appeared. Thanks to the good feeling of many of the patrons, who, as National Churchmen themselves, disapproved of the Act, its provisions were for a time evaded. The patrons failed to nominate to vacant charges—a contingency for which the Assembly had to provide, and in doing so it fell back on the old arrangement of 1690, giving the right of nomination to the heritors and elders. To this was due the *first Secession.* In the sight of *Ebenezer Erskine*, a man of gentle birth and great devotion, the rights of the congregation were ignored by the Assembly's action. "What difference," he protested, "does a piece of land make between man and man in the affairs of Christ's kingdom? By this act we show respect to the man with the gold ring and gay clothing, beyond the man with the vile raiment and poor attire." Summoned to the bar of the Assembly, Erskine refused to withdraw his protest. Three other like-minded ministers joined him, and together they formed at *Gairney Bridge* the first *Associate Presbytery* (1733). The Assembly sought in vain, by subsequent concessions, to heal the breach. Its sentences of deposition were not carried out for five years, and even then with some reluctance. The *second Secession* came twenty years later. Patrons had grown more tenacious of their legal rights, and unwelcome presentees were so frequently thrust

upon congregations, that, between 1740 and 1750, upwards of fifty disputed settlements had to be referred to the Assembly. Unfortunately for the Church, the Assemblies of the day were infected with a spirit of militarism. The protests of congregations were treated as acts of insubordination, and when (1752) the Presbytery of Dunfermline showed itself more sympathetic, by refusing to ordain an unwelcome presentee, the Assembly crowned its militarism by deposing from the ministry one of the defaulting Presbyters, *Thomas Gillespie*. Gillespie was a loyal churchman, but in spite of himself he was forced to become the founder of the *Relief Synod*, whose formation marked the second Secession from the Church.

6. **Moderatism.**—The Secessions, though primarily due to the working of the Patronage Act, were largely helped by a growing diversity of views within the Church. In every country in Europe at the time a rebound was felt from the intensity of religious life and narrowness of thought which had marked the previous centuries; and in the Scottish Church the rebound took the form of *Moderatism*. The extreme earnestness of the Covenanters had passed away, and in its place had sprung up a spirit of religious tolerance, which in not a few cases shaded off into easy-going indifference. Scholarship and culture were encouraged among the clergy to an extent unprecedented, so that, from a literary standpoint, the title of the "Golden Age of the Scottish Church," which has been applied to this period, is well deserved. But there is no doubt that by the growth of Moderatism the cause of the Seceders was greatly aided, and the Church correspondingly weakened. Their chapels formed a congenial home for those in whom the covenanting spirit still burned, and the inadequate efforts of the National Church to meet the needs of a growing population helped still further to swell their numbers. By the end of the century they were a

power in the land, possessing upwards of 200 congregations and nearly as many ministers.

7. **Revival in the Church.**—The new century brought new life, and revived within the Church the love of the old Evangel. Awaking to a higher sense of her calling as a national witness for Christ, the Church realised that witnessing meant working. To the brilliant coterie of litterateurs, which had brought name and fame to Scotland in the eighteenth century, there succeeded an equally brilliant band of Churchmen, of whom the most notable were Dr. Andrew Thomson, Principal Baird, Dr. Inglis, and Dr. Chalmers. Under their inspiring leadership the Church embarked on a series of schemes of Christian work, thoroughly catholic in their nature and extent. The *Education of Youth*, long neglected, regained the place in the Church's interest which it had held in the days of Knox. The claims of the "Scot abroad" were recognised by the inauguration of the *Colonial Scheme*, under which ministers were sent out to the fast-growing colonies of Canada and Australasia. In *India* a place was at last secured on the ecclesiastical establishment for Scottish chaplains, to minister to Scotland's sons—a step which had the important consequence of opening the eyes of the Church to her *missionary* duty. *Dr. Bryce* of Calcutta, the first Indian chaplain, so pressed the needs of the Hindu on the attention of the Church that in 1829 *Alexander Duff*, the first missionary of the Church of Scotland, sailed for India. Of all the new developments, however, the most important, in the light of its consequences, was the *Church Extension* movement, which is identified with the name of *Dr. Chalmers*. His eloquence and energy so roused the Church to the urgent need for providing additional church accommodation for the largely-increased population, that by 1834 there were 200 *Chapels of Ease* dotted over the country.

8. The Disruption.—In the midst of this prosperity the old Patronage trouble again appeared, to work fresh harm. The revival of Church life had quickened men's sense of the defects of a system which gave no power to a congregation in the choice of its spiritual guide. By the Assembly the injustice was felt as keenly as by any, and in 1834 it passed by a majority the *Veto Act*, which debarred Presbyteries from inducting a presentee if his appointment were disapproved of by a majority of the heads of families in the congregation. This Act it was which plunged the Scottish Church into a conflict which was destined to rend her asunder. Disputed settlements soon occurred. At *Auchterarder*, the first of these, the nominee of the patron was vetoed by practically the whole of the congregation; and on the Presbytery refusing to proceed with his trials, he applied to the Court of Session. His application was successful, and, to the bewilderment of the Church, the Veto Act was pronounced illegal. On appeal the judgment was confirmed by the House of Lords, and it was made evident to all that a serious battle between Church and State had begun. That the Church had a grievance, and a great one, all admitted—even the State did not deny it—but in her method of redressing it the highest tribunal decided that she had acted *ultra vires*. A choice of two courses now lay before her. Either she might bend before the law and seek by constitutional means to have the law amended, or, resenting the law as a vital infringement of the Church's rights, she might resign her old connection with the State, and face the consequences. One-third of the ministers and elders of the Church chose the latter course, and on 18*th May* 1843 the decisive step was taken. Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Welsh, Dr. Candlish, and many others of the best of the Scottish clergy and laity, for conscience' sake, but with hearts greatly sorrowing, severed their connection

with the National Church and proceeded to form *The Free Church of Scotland.* It was the third, and by far the greatest of the Secessions.

9. After '43.—The unflinching determination of the Scottish people has never been displayed to better advantage than in the conduct of the Church after the shock of '43. A grievous shock it was, beyond all dispute. Out of 1203 ministers, 451 had "gone out." In the large towns her chief pulpits were empty; of her country parishes more than one-fourth were in like condition; of her Chapels of Ease, her latest joy and pride, two-thirds had ranged themselves with the Free Church; and her very claim to the fabrics of these last was challenged by the seceding party, and was only admitted after a debt of £30,000 had been incurred through litigation. Abroad, the outlook was equally discouraging. Her Indian chaplains remained, but of all her missionaries, Indian and Jewish, only one was left to her. Taking their converts and the good name of the Scottish Church along with them, the others cast in their lot with the Free Church. The task of filling up the gaps at home and abroad, of remedying acknowledged defects, and of prosecuting at the same time the schemes of Christian work, whose previous success had been largely due to the energy of men no longer in her ranks, was sufficient to try the mettle of the Church to the utmost. How well she stood the trial, let the progress of the last eighty years bear witness.

10. Reforming Legislation.—Her first care was to provide a legal remedy for the evils which had wrought such harm, and within a year this was done. Lord Aberdeen's Act of 1843 granted a "reasonable" veto to the congregations, the reasonableness to be decided by the Presbytery; while Sir James Graham's Act of 1844, by legalising *quoad sacra* parishes, and thus giving "chapel"

ministers a seat in the Church Courts, removed another grievance which had led to the breach. The Disruption was thus scarcely a year old when the grievances which had caused it were so far removed as to prove this most fateful event in modern Scottish history an avoidable tragedy. In 1874, after twenty years of agitation, the last of the old grievances disappeared, when patronage was finally abolished, and the choice of a minister vested solely in the congregation.

11. Revival of the Church at Home.—By the earlier legislation sufficient remedy of constitutional evils had been provided to allow the Church to give her attention to her more spiritual work. Her best workmen had largely left her, but she now learned that in God's work He provides the workmen when they are needed. Thanks to Dr. Chalmers, the truth that *Home Mission* work is the first duty of a National Church had been so fixed in the Church's mind that not for a moment did even a temporary abandonment of that duty suggest itself. Into the place of Dr. Chalmers stepped one of the greatest of the Church's sons, *Dr. James Robertson.* To Chalmers's ideal of supplying *churches* sufficient for the population, Robertson added that of providing *endowments* sufficient for the churches. The Act of Parliament which had legalised the erection of *quoad sacra* parishes made their erection conditional on an endowment being provided, yielding at least £120 per annum. To rouse the Church to her duty in the matter, and secure permanence for the new parishes, Robertson gave his life. His solid mental endowments, sincere piety, and indomitable resolution were all dedicated to the work, and when he died in 1860 no less than £160,000 had been raised, and 61 parishes endowed. His spirit has lived on in the Church for the continuance of his work. Since the Disruption, at a cost of nearly £2,000,000, no fewer than 548 new parishes

have been erected and endowed, constituting over one-third of the 1469 parishes of the Church of Scotland. In accomplishing this great work invaluable aid has come from the *Baird Trust*, a princely endowment of £500,000 given in 1873 by Mr. James Baird, a close friend and warm admirer of Dr. Robertson. The *Home Mission Scheme*, of which the Endowment Scheme is the complement, has had a similar career, and has also owed much to the co-operation of the Baird Trust. Church-building in poor and thinly-peopled districts has been steadily prosecuted, 600 churches having been erected at a cost of over £1,500,000. Mission stations have been established in outlying parts, and in many ways the practical side of the Church's work has been forwarded. In 1869 further developments of the Home Work came with the instituting of the *Church Life and Work Scheme*. Under the inspiration of Professor Charteris in 1881 the young men of the Church were welded into the Young Men's Guild, which has done much to quicken congregational life as well as carrying on its own Mission on the Eastern Himalayas. A *Woman's Guild* with 50,000 members, the establishment of an order of Deaconesses, and the founding of a *Girls' Guild* all indicate a progressive spirit among the women of the Church: while a wide range of activities in *Social Work* give evidence of the Church's widening human outlook.

12. **Revival Abroad.**—By the loss of her missionaries and their converts the Church had to commence her Foreign Mission again from the beginning. The mission buildings at the various stations remained in her possession, but they were tenantless; and a few years had to pass before the strain at Home permitted of fresh missionaries being sent out. Then the work was resumed, and it has continued to receive an increasing support from the Church. To the Indian educational missions there have

been added vigorous missions of a more distinctly evangelical nature in the Panjab, the Eastern Himalayas, Nyasaland, Kenya Colony, and China. To-day the Church's workers in the Foreign Field number 192 Europeans, and her converts are over 50,000.

13. **The Church's Comprehensiveness.**—Of the various characteristics of the Church to-day none is more noticeable than the growth of the spirit of tolerance. This is seen in all the Churches, but in the Church of Scotland it has been greatly helped by her dominating sense of her calling as a *national* institution. As the servant of Christ to all classes in the nation she has found a place within her ranks for workers and thinkers of many schools, and the result appears in the enrichment of her life in many directions. In leading the Church to adopt this more excellent way, three of her post-disruption ministers had surpassing influence: Dr. Robert Lee, Dr. Norman Macleod, and Dr. John Tulloch. To Dr. Lee were largely due the improvements in the Church's worship which now are everywhere in evidence. His long struggle was needed to convince Scottish churchmen that in worship, as in everything else, God requires our best and not our worst, and that outward seemliness of posture, sweetness of music, reverence in prayer are not only fitting in themselves, but are also helpful to the offering of a spiritual sacrifice.

The Church Service Society with its 1000 members, the many chaste and beautiful churches which have arisen, the introduction of instrumental music, and the general advance in refinement and decorousness of worship, may all be traced to the influence of Robert Lee. Dr. Macleod's services ran in a different though parallel line, and may be defined as a *humanising* of Church spirit and life. He has left few literary remains behind him, but he has stamped upon his Church his own hearty, healthy, genial

character. The largeness of view that carries Christian duty into many non-ecclesiastical spheres, the broad-mindedness as to non-essentials in creed, the firm hold on the fundamentals and the ready acknowledgment of good wherever it is found, which are all marks of the Church to-day, owe much to Norman Macleod. Principal Tulloch's services went yet deeper. He was the pioneer in contending for that sanity in theological thought which, while maintaining all reverent loyalty to the proved positions of the past, yet claims the liberty to move onward as the Spirit leads. It is the position of his Church to-day.

14. The Church and the People.—The devotion which the Church has shown to her national calling, and her readiness to embody new convictions in new methods of work for the good of the nation, have had their reward. A continuous increase in her membership, much in excess of the increase in population, speaks of a growing affection on the part of the Scottish people. Her communicants in 1923 numbered 756,000, a growth of 64 per cent in a period of fifty years, during which the population of Scotland had increased by 45 per cent, and her hold upon the people is even greater than these figures would imply. For a time indeed towards the close of the nineteenth century a *Disestablishment* movement was actively pressed by some, but it only served to increase her popularity. Attack led to inquiry into her merits and her claims, with the result that the people showed themselves the more resolved that no hurt should be done to an institution so ancient, so honourable, and so beneficial to the nation. Happily, as will be stated later, present endeavours to secure a lasting settlement of Scottish Presbyterian divisions are proceeding along a more excellent way.

B. The United Free Church of Scotland

Alongside the Church of Scotland there stands to-day the *United Free Church of Scotland*, with a membership of 534,000, and a record for Christian efficiency both at Home and Abroad which is very high. The United Free Church dates from 1900, and her place in the life of Scotland is best indicated by considering separately the pre-Union history of the two important Churches which then were merged in one,—the United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church of Scotland.

(a) *The United Presbyterian Church* (1847–1900)

With the Disruption of 1843 the divisive tendency of Scottish Presbyterianism reached its climax. Since then the forces which make for union have been in the ascendant, and of their successful working the first conspicuous result was the *United Presbyterian Church*.

1. Origin of the Church.—In the main the United Presbyterian Church resulted from the Union of the two Secession Churches of the eighteenth century. These in their isolation had pushed the divisive principle to an extreme which to-day is hardly conceivable, the Secession Church of 1733 suffering specially from fission. In 1747 a question as to the lawfulness of an oath which was imposed on all burgesses, caused a division into the *Burghers* and the *Anti-Burghers*. By the rise of "voluntary" views in the end of the century, and the emergence of a difference of opinion on the binding force of the Covenants, the process of fission was repeated, and four separate communities came into existence, the Old and the New Light Burghers, and the Old and the New Light Anti-Burghers. Then began the reaction. In 1820 the two New Lights coalesced to form the *United Secession Church*, to which in 1847 was added the old *Relief Church of Gillespie*. The

Church thus formed took the name of the *United Presbyterian Church*, and for the next half-century occupied a distinctive and important place in the ecclesiastical life of Scotland.

2. Special Features.—As with all the Presbyterian off-shoots from the National Church, the old standards of faith and order were adhered to, but a prolonged period of separate existence developed in the United Presbyterian Church several characteristic features. One of these was a less rigid attitude in regard to creed-subscription. In 1879, availing herself of the greater liberty for self-determination which by her non-established position she possessed, the Church passed a Declaratory Act, whereby subscription to the historic creeds was limited to acceptance of the *substance* of the faith. In this important matter the United Presbyterian Church led the way which has subsequently been followed by other Scottish Churches. In like manner her limited *national* responsibilities made it possible for the Church to enter on large-hearted enterprises in the wider world. Her area of operations in Scotland was restricted. In the Highlands she was hardly represented; in the country districts of the Lowlands as a rule she was not strong either numerically or financially; but in the towns and great cities of the South and West her stately churches, vigorous ministry, and rich and influential membership made her a power. Foreign missions she took to her heart, and vigorous missions in South Africa, West Africa, the West Indies, Rajputana in India, and Manchuria justified her being regarded as the most missionary of all the Scottish Churches. Less universally appreciated was the increasing importance assigned to the *voluntary* position, which the Church had been constrained to adopt; in the first instance, rather by circumstances than by choice. Neither Erskine nor Gillespie had been voluntaries, but a lengthened trial of

the system led their descendants to elevate the practice into a principle. The unjustifiableness of a state-church, established by law, became a fixed principle of the denomination. By 1900 the Church, which had begun in 1847 with 518 congregations, possessed over 600 congregations and a membership approaching 200,000.

(b) *The Free Church of Scotland* (1843–1900)

This youngest and strongest of the offshoots from the old Scottish Church enjoyed the unique distinction of never having known the day of small things. The Free Church started in life full grown, possessing a numerous and able clergy, a zealous staff of missionaries, and a large and enthusiastic membership. The splendid testimony to the living power of the conscience which had been given by 470 ministers surrendering an annual income of £100,000, forsaking hearth and home, and going out into the unknown, appealed to multitudes who knew little or nothing of the cause of the sacrifice. The fact was sufficiently eloquent. Everywhere throughout Protestant Christendom the tale of the wondrous sacrifice was heard with pride. Under the skilful guidance of Dr. Candlish and Dr. Chalmers this widespread enthusiasm was at once directed into a practical channel.

1. **Perfecting her Equipment.**—After the shock of '43 the cry of the National Church had been for *men* to fill the vacant places and carry on the work; with the Free Church the cry was of necessity for *money*. Men she had in abundance, and congregations many waiting to be ministered to, but churches, manses, colleges, schools, and, in the Foreign Field, mission buildings, had all to be provided. For this money was an urgent necessity, and with marvellous rapidity contributions poured into the Church's treasury sufficient for all her needs. Her first

care was to provide for the support of her ministers, and by the famous *Sustentation Fund* this was successfully accomplished. Every member of a congregation was requested to contribute, according to his ability, to a central fund, from which each minister should annually, receive an equal dividend. Thus "each congregation should do its part in sustaining the whole, and the whole should sustain each congregation." Suggested by Candlish and worked out by Chalmers, the scheme was in readiness in 1842, and prior to '43 had been tentatively applied, so far as to make it evident that the plan would work. Associations to the number of 647, and money in hand to the amount of £17,000, were a good augury for the future. In 1844 the fund reached £61,000, and by 1900, though slightly altered in its mode of working, and showing occasional variations, it had risen to an annual average of £200,000. The *Building Fund* for erecting churches and manses met with an equally generous reception. At the first Assembly £104,776 was reported to be ready for the work, and within four years 700 churches were erected. *Theological Colleges* and *Country Schools* followed in quick succession, and when in 1872 the Scottish schools passed from the control of the Churches into that of the State, it was estimated that in thirty years the Free Church had spent on education £600,000. On the *Mission Field* a like rapid adjustment was seen. There the Free Church was strikingly fortunate in securing the adhesion of the whole mission force of the Scottish Church. Fourteen Indian Missionaries and six Jewish, accompanied by their converts, went over to her side—a heavy financial burden at the time no doubt, but a most valuable accession to the Church. Nor did the Church hesitate to accept it with acclamation. Voluntary sacrifices on the part of the missionaries for the first few years made the burden easier, and secured for the Church what became a large and

efficient missionary department, prosecuting its labours in India, Syria, South Africa, and the South Sea Islands.

2. Notable Features.—Among the features which specially marked the Free Church, during the fifty-seven years of her separate and undivided existence, may be mentioned three. One was a steadily increasing acceptance of *Voluntaryism* as the ideal position for a Church to occupy. This was a new thing. By her origin and standards the Free Church was pronouncedly anti-Voluntary. Chalmers, her great leader, was a strong defender of the necessity of an Established Church, and in words that are well known he declared the principles of the Church in whose founding he had so large a share. "Though we quit the Establishment, we go out on the Establishment principle. We quit a vitiated Establishment, but would rejoice in returning to a pure one." But times changed, and the Free Church, as indicated by votes in successive General Assemblies, changed with them, though for long a substantial minority showed year after year that they stood where Chalmers stood. Still, as a Church, she became increasingly convinced both of the superiority and the rectitude of the Voluntary principle, and correspondingly doubtful of the justifiableness of an Established Church.

A second feature, one in which she differed from the United Presbyterian Church, was the *uniform distribution of her membership*, and her ready recognition of her national duty. Her claim was that she was the "Church of Scotland, Free." She desired to discharge all the duties of a national Church, and though there were very many parishes where she was not represented, there was no great area where her ministry was not found. By the end of the century she had some 350,000 members and adherents, and with over 1000 congregations she was a great power in the land.

Beyond Scotland the feature which more than any other men came to associate with the Free Church, was the scholarship of her leading divines, and their prolific and able literary output. For long regarded as the most conservative of Churches, the time came when she was considered to be among the more "advanced." The names of Dr. Bruce, Dr. Davidson, Dr. Marcus Dods, Dr. Robertson Smith, Dr. Lindsay, Dr. Rainy, and others gained world-wide recognition, and they and their disciples were welcomed as a band of men who sought to let the new light shine, and yet leave unobscured the prized illuminations of former days.

(c) *The United Free Church of Scotland*

1. Steps towards Union. — The existence in one country of two Churches so similar naturally suggested union, but the path was far from clear. By the growing voluntaryism of the Free Church, however, one great obstacle was much reduced, and her adoption of a Declaratory Act regarding the old doctrinal standards, similar to that in force in the United Presbyterian Church, eased the situation still more. The passing of this Act indeed had been vigorously opposed by a small section of the Free Church in the Highlands, which felt compelled because of it to withdraw and form a separate communion —the *Free Presbyterian Church*, which now possesses some 20 congregations and 15 ministers. General enthusiasm over the Union could not be said to prevail, but there was a widespread sense of its being a Christian duty, and on 31st October 1900 it was accomplished The *United Free Church* which then was formed was a sign to the world that in Scotland the old divisive tendencies of Presbyterianism were waning, and that a new spirit had been born. The United Presbyterian

Church entered the Union by a unanimous vote; in the Free Church General Assembly 643 votes were in favour, and only 27 votes were against the step. Few Church Unions have been consummated with greater promise or with a richer environment of good-will. The Church of Scotland was a deeply interested onlooker. For her it meant that a great sister Church with a membership of over 500,000 now took place beside herself, with her 700,000 members; and though by the Union the forces unfavourable to an Established Church were increased in strength, yet the gain to Scotland and to the Church of Christ counterbalanced all. "Our heartfelt prayer," wrote Dr. Macleod, the Moderator of the Church of Scotland Assembly, to Dr. Rainy, the Moderator of the first Assembly of the United Free Church, "is that the Union may conduce to the glory of God, and to the true weal of the one Church of Christ in Scotland and throughout the world."

2. Legal Consequences.—Those in the Free Church who voted against the Union held that the decision of the Assembly was unconstitutional. It involved, they maintained, a breach with fundamental principles of their Church; and in consequence they, the minority, were now the true and lawful Free Church of Scotland, possessing the sole right to the Church's name and properties. The minority consisted of some 30 ministers and about 100 congregations, but their strength was greater than the numbers would suggest, for they represented the dominant attitude of the whole of the Highlands of Scotland. To the ordinary Scottish mind the claim put forward seemed impossible, and when it was disallowed by the Scottish Court of Session there was general approval. Appeal, however, was made to the House of Lords; and in 1904 the judgment of the Scottish court was reversed, and the claim of the minority was declared to be legally just.

Adherence to the principle of Establishment, and unqualified acceptance of the old doctrinal standards, were pronounced to be fundamental elements in the constitution of the Free Church of Scotland. From these positions the overwhelming majority of that Church had admittedly departed, and in consequence the minority, who held by the statutory positions, were declared by the highest court in the Empire to be, in the eye of the law, the Free Church of Scotland.

The decision created an impossible situation. Manifestly the comparatively small minority could never administer efficiently the great inheritance of property and duty which the law assigned to it. Accordingly in 1905 Parliament intervened and made legal what was eminently right. The minority were confirmed in their right to the honoured name, the Free Church of Scotland; to them were assigned as large a portion of the properties, both in buildings and endowments, as they could efficiently use; but all the rest was, by Act of Parliament, secured to the United Free Church of Scotland.

3. Subsequent Progress.—It was a fiery trial through which the United Church had to pass, but it helped to weld the two sections more firmly together. To-day, after a quarter of a century has passed, the benefits of the Union are everywhere apparent. General consolidation of Church work, the gradual linking up of congregations at Home, the diminishing thereby of unnecessary charges, the unifying and extending of the work Abroad, and the enhanced influence and inspiration which attend a great and powerful Church,—are all results of the Union of 1900. In Scotland the United Church holds a high place in the national esteem. Her Christian liberality reaches annually £1,500,000; and her great missionary work in the wider world, carried on at an annual cost of over £200,000, has given to the Church a place and a name

among the foremost of the Churches of Reformed Christendom.

C. Smaller Presbyterian Churches

(1) The *Free Church of Scotland* has consolidated her position since 1900, and maintains to-day the allegiance of the great majority of the population of the Highlands. Of this Church's 140 congregations only one-sixth are in the Lowlands, and these are largely composed of immigrants from the north; but that the Church claims her part and place in the wider church-life of the nation is indicated by the facts that her General Assembly meets in Edinburgh, and that there also her theological students are trained. With a membership of over 10,000, and adherents probably five times as numerous, the Free Church stands firmly in the old paths, alike in constitution, creed, and customs, and the relations with other Presbyterian Churches grow steadily in cordiality.

(2) The *United Original Secession Church* is of much smaller dimensions, but possesses a distinct historical interest. Her strength is some 3500 members and 20 congregations. Unlike most of the Secession bodies, this Church could not see her way to join in the Unions of the nineteenth century which resulted in the United Presbyterian Church. Small in numbers, tenacious in her adherence to the memories of the days of Erskine, she is held in high respect in Scotland, and owes much to not a few of her distinguished sons. Dr. McCrie and Dr. Smellie have shed lustre on this historic survival, and Sir James Barrie has helped to extend its fame far and wide by his *Auld Licht Idylls*.

(3) Smaller still is the *Reformed Presbyterian Church*, with 10 congregations and 930 members. This is the last representative of the old *Cameronians*, who at the Revolution Settlement stood aloof from the Church of

Scotland because adhesion to the Covenants was not made obligatory on both Church and State. In 1876 the greater portion of the community joined the Free Church of Scotland, but a minority continued their separate existence.

D. The Church of the Future

1. Position after 1900.—The Union which resulted in the formation of the United Free Church was widely recognised to be but a stage in the movement towards a still larger Union which would give to Scotland a Church both National and Free. Many things helped to foster this ideal and to make men impatient for its fulfilment. Old asperities had died out; a generation that knew not the Disruption and its controversies had arisen; there was a growing sense of the indefensibleness of old divisions in the face of modern realities; in the Colonies the different sections of the Scottish Church were already one; and in the Mission Fields the missionaries of the two great Churches were linked in brotherly co-operation. But perhaps most impelling of all was the manifest necessity for the Churches' coping more adequately with the new situation which had arisen in Scotland, through the amazing transference of the population. Two-thirds of the people were now gathered in the great industrial belt between the Forth and the Clyde. A corresponding transference of the Churches' forces and equipment was an imperative necessity; yet without Union all realised that it could not be done. The duty was clear, and it fell naturally to the Church of Scotland to take the first step. In 1908 an invitation was sent to the other Presbyterian Churches to confer on the Ecclesiastical situation in Scotland, with a view to securing larger fellowship and co-operation. The United Free Church felt that this did not go deep enough, and said so. A

conference unrestricted in its aims, and with reunion as its goal, was felt to be the only adequate way; and in 1909 both Assemblies agreed to enter into unrestricted conference "on the existing ecclesiastical situation, and on the main causes which keep the Churches apart, in the earnest hope that, by God's blessing, misunderstanding and hindrances may be removed, and the great object of Presbyterian reunion in Scotland thereby advanced."

2. Negotiations.—The Conferences which then began had to be suspended during the war, but by 1919 they had reached some far-reaching conclusions. Two positions, each bound up with the very life of the two negotiating Churches, had to be reconciled. Fundamental with the Church of Scotland was the *National Recognition of Religion*; fundamental with the United Free Church was the *Spiritual Freedom of the Church*. The problem was to find a right relation between Church and State which would satisfy these two requirements. By the existing connection of the Church of Scotland with the State, the United Free Church considered that she was not free in her own house. In matters spiritual and also temporal she was not the sole authority. The Church of Scotland, while little conscious of any real restrictions on her liberty, —many of the Parliamentary statutes by which she was bound having been passed to meet her own requirements,— recognised the force of the contention from the standpoint of the sister Church. By common consent a Constitution of the Church of Scotland was framed, declaring unequivocally her spiritual freedom, and was ratified by Parliament in 1921. At the same time a doctrinal basis, drawn up by the Church of Scotland, and declared by the United Free Church to be entirely acceptable to her, was given Parliamentary confirmation; while the Church's historic place in the national life continued to be secured

to her. So was removed one of the main causes which kept the Churches apart.

The other cause lay in the nature of the temporalities of the Church,—in particular the ancient endowments of the Church. The teinds or tithes, which in all the old parishes yielded the minister's stipend, were from the early days of Scottish history an annual charge on the fruits of the land, payable by the proprietor for the maintenance of religion within the parishes, and were confirmed by legal statute. The Church was, to the extent of the teinds, a joint-proprietor. In the eyes of many in the United Free Church this arrangement of the payment of teinds was capable of being regarded as the State supporting the Church. The Church of Scotland regarded things very differently, but agreed to seek an arrangement whereby the temporalities of the Church should come under her own control, to be employed solely for religious purposes. Successive Governments of different political complexions expressed their willingness to give legal sanction to such an arrangement, if the Church and the heritors (the proprietors of the land) could reach an agreement. In 1924, by patriotic sacrifices on the part both of Church and heritors, such an agreement was reached. Partly by commutation and redemption of stipends, and partly by converting stipends from being a variable charge on the fruitage of the land to being a fixed annual charge, similar to a feu-duty, on the lands themselves, the solution was found. In 1925 the necessary legislation sanctioning the arrangement was passed, and to-day the way to Union is clear. "The main causes which keep the Churches apart" have been removed. It remains for the Churches to give themselves now to the work of construction, and build up anew in Scotland the walls of her Jerusalem.

3. The Resultant Church.—A few years must pass

before the consummation of this greatest of all Scottish Church Unions, but it is permissible even now to indicate some of the features that will mark the Church of Scotland in coming days. National to a degree unknown for two centuries and free with a fulness never before attained, possessing a communicant membership of one million and a quarter, representing a community approximating four million souls, and served by over three thousand ministers, the Church's power and responsibilities will be singularly great; and the combination of the spiritual and financial resources of the two sections will go far to perfect her efficiency in ministering to Scotland. Abroad, like consequences will follow. With a combined strength of 600 missionaries and an annual missionary income of over £300,000, great developments may be expected in the mission fields of a unified Church. And as important as any gain will be the enrichment of the whole Church with inspiring memories and ideals which hitherto have been sectional in their working, but henceforth will be the property of all. For Scotland and for the world it is good that these things should come to pass.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN IRELAND

THE *Irish Presbyterian Church* is the oldest daughter of the Church of Scotland, and like many of the later offshoots from the same stem, owes her origin to Scottish colonisation. The collapse of the Irish rebellion in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, had placed at the disposal of the Crown an immense stretch of forfeited territory in the North of Ireland. Through the wisdom of King James the vacant land was granted on favourable terms to British colonists, and so steady was the stream from Scotland that in a short time the whole of Ulster assumed a markedly Scottish complexion.

1. First Introduction of Presbyterianism.—The rapid increase in the population, however satisfactory to the civil authorities, proved a cause of great perplexity to the rulers of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the country. Their new sheep, whose reputation was often none of the best, were far too numerous for the few established shepherds, and yet so unattractive was the country that no offers of service from the more comfortably housed clergy in England were forthcoming. Providentially for Ireland it happened that at this time Episcopacy in Scotland was enjoying one of its brief triumphs. Presbyterian ministers were being driven from their charges, and to

them in their distress the tidings of Ulster's need was a veritable message from God. Across the narrow channel they went and proffered their services, where they met with a welcome from the Bishops, whose heartiness and liberal-mindedness is a standing reproof to later times. At the head of the Irish Church for the greater part of this period was the catholic-spirited *Ussher*, in his theology as keen a Calvinist as any Scot. His Bishops shared in his catholicity, and in a short time a dozen Presbyterian ministers were settled in parishes throughout the North, serving in an Episcopal Church, yet suffered to retain their Presbyterian convictions. Of these *Edward Brice* was the first in order. Driven from the parish of Drymen in 1613, he crossed over and settled in Broadisland, under Bishop Echlin of Down. Following him came a goodly band, amongst whom were *Robert Blair*, professor in Glasgow University and the ablest of them all; *James Hamilton*, the nephew of Lord Claneboy, founder of the Dufferin family; *Josias Welsh*, a grandson of John Knox, whose sermons were so rousing as to gain for him the name "cock o' the conscience"; *Robert Cunningham*, *John Livingstone*, and others. All were Presbyterians who had suffered for conscience' sake, and soon the fruits of their labours appeared. The questionable reputation of the Ulster colonists passed away, and they became famed for their God-fearing, orderly manner of life.

2. Ejection of the Presbyterians.—The success of the Presbyterian ministers produced a change in the mind of the Bishops. To their dismay they saw their parishes fast being infected with Presbyterian ways, and, with a unanimity shared by all save the good Archbishop, they turned on the Presbyters. Echlin led the attack, and with complete success. Ussher tried his best to stay the intolerance, but when the help of *Laud*, the arch-persecutor of Presbytery, was invoked, the end was not doubtful.

The Presbyterian ministers were ejected from their parishes and driven from the land. Brice died of a broken heart. The others, after an ineffectual attempt to reach America (1636), returned to Scotland, where they did good service to the Mother Church. On the now shepherdless Presbyterians of Ulster the vials of Laud's and Wentworth's wrath were poured out freely, until, by persecution, imprisonment, and fines, Presbyterianism was silenced and apparently dead.

3. **Return of Presbyterianism.** — Five years after it had been thrust out with contumely, Presbyterianism returned to bless its persecutors. In 1641 there occurred the *Irish Insurrection*, whose awful excesses sent a thrill of horror pulsing through Britain. Everywhere the native Irish had risen and massacred the Protestants with unspeakable tortures. On receipt of the tidings, Presbyterian Scotland forgot the wrongs she had herself received at the hands of those now suffering, and with urgent haste despatched to their relief a force of 10,000 men under Major-General Munro. Landing at Carrickfergus, Munro speedily quelled the rebellion, but to thoroughly quiet the country a more lengthened stay was needful. To this was due the reintroduction of Presbyterianism.

With each regiment had been sent a chaplain; and on comparative quiet being secured the chaplains were able to devote some time to the spiritual needs of the country. Other clergy there were none. The Bishops had fled and the Episcopal clergy were mostly massacred, so to the growth of Presbytery there was now no let or hindrance. Immediately the old Presbyterian leanings of the colonists showed themselves anew, which so stimulated the chaplains that, on 10*th June* 1642, a Presbytery was formed at Carrickfergus. The materials were already to hand in the Kirk-Session which existed in each regiment, with the chaplain for moderator and officers for elders.

In combination these now formed the *First Presbytery* of the Irish Church. It was a small seed, which soon became a great tree. Applications for ministers poured in from the parishes, and through the Presbytery these appeals were forwarded to the Mother Church in Scotland. She did what she could, and sent for several years deputations of her leading ministers to serve for three months at a time, besides despatching occasional licentiates of her own to settle in the country. In 1660 there were 80 congregations throughout Ulster, 70 ministers, 5 presbyteries, and 100,000 communicants—a wonderful growth in twenty years!

4. A Century of Trial.—With the return of the Stuart kings in 1660, an abrupt check was given to the progress of the Church, and an era of persecution inaugurated which lasted for more than a century. This was the unhappy result of the steady hostility of the Episcopal party. In numbers the Episcopalians were far inferior to the Presbyterians, but their social position was higher: their bishops mustered strong in the Irish House of Lords, and the power thus given them in the making of laws they freely used for the advancement of their Church. No sooner had Charles II. ascended the throne than the loyalty of his Irish Presbyterian subjects was all forgotten. Episcopacy was re-established, High Church bishops were sent from England to occupy the vacant sees, and a systematic anti-Presbyterian campaign began. A troop of dragoons having dispersed the Synod at Ballymena, the alternative of conformity or ejection was offered to all the Presbyterian ministers. Of the seventy, sixty-one chose ejection and went out from Church and home. With characteristic Scottish fidelity the people followed their pastors, and conventicles everywhere sprang up; but only to be suppressed. A fine of £100 was the penalty imposed on any Presbyterian minister found

administering the communion, and so grievous was the crime of being in Presbyterian orders, that for six years four Presbyterian ministers were confined in prison at Lifford, through the efforts of Bishop Leslie of Raphoe. That the English Government lent its countenance to such injustice was partly due to the misrepresentations of the Bishops, who pictured the Presbyterians as rebellious and disloyal. How false were such reports was shown at the heroic defence of Derry, where, as Froude says, the Presbyterians "won immortal honour for themselves, and flung over the wretched annals of their adopted country a solitary gleam of true glory."

By the impartial *William of Orange* this was duly noted, and so long as he lived the Presbyterian Church was free from any "legal" persecution. A small grant to the ministers of £600, passed by Charles II. when in a tolerant mood but irregularly paid, was now doubled in amount, and thus was begun the *Regium Donum*, which till the year 1869 continued to be an annual acknowledgment by the State of the semi-established position of the Presbyterian Church. Under these more favourable conditions Presbyterianism rapidly shot forward, until in 1702, the year of King William's death, there were 9 Presbyteries, 3 sub-Synods, and 1 General Annual Synod.

5. The Test Act.—The death of William and the accession of Queen Anne left the Episcopal party once more free to work its will, and in 1704 it succeeded in carrying an Act most hurtful to Presbyterianism. This was the *Test Act*, according to which every person holding office under the Crown was obliged to partake of the communion in an Episcopal church within three months after entering an office. Failure so to do was followed by deprivation of office. Under this infamous enactment Presbyterians were declared unfit to serve the State, save

by disloyalty to their Church. How it told on the cause throughout the North may be judged by the cases of Derry and Belfast. In Derry 10 out of 12 aldermen and 14 out of 24 burgesses lost their offices, while in Belfast 9 out of 13 shared the same fate—and all for the crime of being loyal Presbyterians. Similar expulsions taking place elsewhere, it was at last borne home to the minds of the people that Ireland was no home for Presbytery. Across the Atlantic, America beckoned invitingly, and with hearts longing for freedom to worship God, the great *Exodus of Ulster Presbyterians* set in. Already many had been driven there by earlier persecutions, and had helped to lay the foundation of American Presbyterianism, but from 1729 onwards a steady stream of emigrants began to flow, amounting to 12,000 annually, and continued with like fulness for many years. To America they were a priceless gain, to Ireland an irreparable loss. For the removal of the obnoxious Act the Presbyterians had to wait for eighty years, when the rise of the Volunteer Movement in 1780 brought the Government to its senses, and extorted the cancelling of an enactment which had declared Presbyterians, "the right arm of Irish Protestantism, to be unfit to hold office, civil or military, above the rank of a parish constable" (Froude). By repeated increase of the *Regium Donum*, tardy amends for past neglect were made, and at the close of the century the Irish Presbyterian Church, unprivileged but at last unhindered, had a free path before her.

6. Doctrinal Troubles.—The century, so full of external trials, was also marked by serious internal doctrinal controversies, the result in a great measure of the closeness of touch which subsisted between Scottish and Irish Presbyterianism. Geographical proximity and their near relationship has always made this inevitable, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the bond was

tightened by the prevalent practice of the Irish Presbyterian ministers receiving their training at Scottish Universities, Glasgow being the favourite *alma mater*. By their means ideas prevalent in Scotland passed over to the sister isle, and naturally enough the Moderatism of the eighteenth century was thus transmitted. To the reception it met with in Ireland and the modifications it there underwent were mainly due the two doctrinal controversies of the Church.

(1) *The New Light* movement, which originated in 1719, was a revolt on the part of some of the ministers against creed subscription. Led by the *Rev. John Abernethy* of Antrim, they maintained that sincerity of belief justified lack of orthodoxy, and denied the Church's right to impose a creed upon her ministers. The Church recognised the earnestness and worth of several of the leaders of the movement, and with rare patience sought to effect a compromise. Adopting a policy of segregation, she isolated the "New Lights" in a Presbytery by themselves, the *Presbytery of Antrim*. But the leaven spread, and in 1726 the Synod of Dungannon found it necessary to completely separate the Presbytery from the Church. Even this failed to check the growing laxity of doctrine, and in 1741 there resulted a consequence very important to Irish Presbyterianism. This was the entrance into Ulster of representatives of the *Secession Church* of Scotland. No bias any may have for or against this Church's work in Scotland can obscure the great service it rendered to Ireland. It saved Irish Presbyterianism from drifting into that Unitarianism which at the same period annihilated the old Presbyterianism of England. The *Rev. Isaac Patton* of Lylehill was the first Seceder minister, and in 1750, nine years after his arrival, the first *Associate Presbytery* was held at Arhilly, near Newtonlimavady. From this date, though much opposed

by the Church of Ulster, and greatly injured by her own folly in taking up the quarrels of the Scots Seceders and splitting into Burgher and Anti-Burgher, the Seceder Church progressed with amazing rapidity.

(2) *The Arian Controversy*, which marked the earlier part of the nineteenth century, was another instance of the responsiveness of Ulster to Scottish movements. The rising Evangelicalism of the Mother Church infected the daughter, and, as the Evangelical spirit spread, zeal for purity of doctrine returned. It was time. So indifferent had the Synod grown as to the orthodoxy of its ministers, that Arianism was common amongst them, and in more than one instance had been openly professed without rebuke. The majority, however, though indifferent, were orthodox, as were also the people. What was needed was a leader, strong, earnest, and determined, and such a man was found in *Henry Cooke*, minister of Killyleagh, one of the greatest leaders the Irish Church has had. Perceiving the canker that was eating the life out of the Church, he gave himself to the work of destroying it. It was no easy task. The apathy of the Church had to be overcome, and able opponents had to be refuted. But in the end the battle was won. At *Lurgan*, in 1829, after a struggle of ten years, the Synod of Ulster declared it to be incompetent for any one holding Arian views to occupy an office in the Church. Seventeen ministers resigned their charges —a small number when one considers the prolonged and excited controversy which had taken place.

7. Union with the Secession Synod.—The vindication of the Church's orthodoxy was followed, in 1834, by an enforcement of unqualified subscription to the Confession of Faith on all her office-bearers—a step which brought the Synod of Ulster in all essentials into perfect harmony with the *Secession Synod*. The natural and seemly consequence was reached when, on 10th July 1840,

the two Presbyterian Synods, after a separate existence of one hundred years, united their forces and formed the *General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.* From the Secession side came 141 congregations, and from the Synod of Ulster 292. Seldom has an ecclesiastical union been so heartily consummated, and never with happier results. The isolated congregations in the South and East of Ireland, which formed the *Synod of Munster*, in turn caught the contagion, and when in 1854 they too united with the strong Church of the North, the *Irish Presbyterian Church* had gained at last the recognised position, and much of the power in the land, which but for oppression should have been hers two centuries before.

8. Recent Progress.—From that date the record of the Church has been one of rapid growth and steady development, alike in membership, in wealth, and in all good works. No sooner was the Union of 1840 accomplished than *Foreign Mission* work was taken up, India being the field first chosen. Missions to the Jews and China were added later, and under the devoted lead of the late *Dr. Fleming Stevenson* foreign work was steadily developed. But it has been by her labours in the *Home* country that the Irish Church has gained her brightest laurels. For long it has been unnecessary for her students to go to Scotland for their training. The *Magee College* at Londonderry, the product of a princely legacy from the widow of a minister of the Church, and the *Assembly's College* at Belfast, have supplied a training adequate to the Church's needs. The *Orphan Society*, one of the many agencies originated and successfully worked by the late Dr. Johnston, cares for 3000 orphan children, at an annual cost of £10,000. The *Connaught Irish Schools*, organised by the late Dr. Edgar, have educated thousands of poor children, and the *Irish Mission* of Dr. Hamilton Magee strives effectually to disseminate Protestant truth throughout the

land. To the general progress a rude shock was given in 1869, when, along with the disestablishment of the Irish Episcopal Church, there took place the abolition of the Presbyterian *Regium Donum*. But no serious injury was done. The commutation of life interests resulted in a capital fund of £587,735, which yields a yearly interest of £25,000. The *Regium Donum* had amounted yearly to £39,000, but the liberality of the Church soon more than compensated for its withdrawal, the *Sustentation Fund*, voluntarily raised, having steadily increased since its inception. With its aid the Church maintains a staff of 626 ministers, who minister to over 100,000 members and a community approximating half a million. In her membership she almost equals the Episcopal Church, but in Ulster, the Presbyterian stronghold, she far exceeds it, and has been the main instrument in imparting to Northern Ireland the religious tone which specially characterises it.

9. Characteristic Features.—As contrasted with the present-day Presbyterianism of Scotland, that of Ireland is distinguished by its tenacious conservatism. Modifications in theology and Church worship which in Scotland have long been accomplished facts, in Ireland have been slow to appear. Several causes have contributed to this peculiarity. One has been the strong infusion of conservatism in theology and in worship which the Church received by uniting in 1840 with the Secession Synod. The close contact with the Roman Church has also had its influence in stereotyping the more severe features of Protestantism, and not without its effect has been the ceasing of the practice of educating the young ministers in Scotland. Contact with Scottish ways and thought has thereby been avoided, save in the case of a few students who voluntarily cross the Channel, and the characteristic qualities of Irish Presbyterianism have been left unaffected.

Still there have been changes, and latterly they have been fairly rapid. Instrumental music in churches, which was condemned by the Assembly in 1868, was in 1892 tacitly permitted. The use of hymns in the service of praise, long frowned upon, was sanctioned in 1895, and now the Irish Church is one of the great brotherhood of Presbyterian Churches in the British Empire which unite in using " The Church Hymnary." In theology the Church has not forgotten the warning she received in the eighteenth century against rash tampering with her credal basis, but there are signs that the subject of creed-revision may ere long call for the consideration of the Assembly.

From her geographical and national environment the Presbyterian Church in Ireland has always been keenly responsive to the political movements of the day. She is staunchly Protestant in the midst of an ardent Roman Catholic people; and she represents a thoroughly loyal community in a country where three-fourths of the people are less than lukewarm in their attitude to Britain. In the Great War this told. Southern Ireland generally stood aloof from the Allied cause, but the Protestants of Ulster were devoted in service and in sacrifice. To the Presbyterian Church it was a pride that the Principal Chaplain with the British Armies in France, all through the Armageddon, was the Rev. Dr. Simms, C.B., C.M.G., K.H.C., one of her own ministers. The war tightened the bonds that united Irish and British Presbyterianism.

When the war ended, and the treaty between Britain and the insurgent Southern Ireland was signed, which divided Ireland into North and South and gave the southern portion semi-independence, Ulster and its Protestants clung all the closer to the old British connection. In 1921 and 1922 the isolated Presbyterian congregations in the southern area suffered many things in consequence. Terrorism of Protestants was rife. But now the reign of law seems to

be slowly strengthening, and Irish Presbyterianism, with its solid base in Ulster and its scattered, sore-tried units at least tolerated elsewhere in Ireland, is facing the future with a stout heart and good hope. It is good for Ireland that it is so. Some sweetness and light may have been forfeited by the Church in her troubled life, but the rugged strength which has been maintained is of far greater moment. As a standing witness for the evangelical truths obscured by Romanism, as a protest against its errors, and as a bracing influence on Irish Protestant Episcopacy, with which her relations are most friendly, the Irish Presbyterian Church is a strong tower to the Protestant cause, and as such merits and receives the warm appreciation of the Presbyterian world.

CHAPTER IX

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN ENGLAND AND WALES

A. The Presbyterian Church of England

The place which Presbyterianism has filled in the religious life of England is not to be judged by the fortunes of the organised Presbyterian Church. Alike in age and in influence English Presbyterianism is a far greater thing than the Church which bears the distinctive name, and the vicissitudes of its course possess an interest and importance of a unique kind. In all there have been six clearly marked stages in the troubled career of Presbyterianism in England.

1. Penetration (1549–1583).—In England the political aspect of the Reformation bulked large. Politically the movement was a revolt against the authority of the Pope within the realm of England; as such it was championed by King Henry VIII. Spiritually it drew its inspiration mainly from the Continent, where for the most part Presbyterian conceptions of Church order, discipline and doctrine prevailed among the Reformed communities. Under Henry VIII. these tendencies got no countenance in England, but with the accession of the young King Edward VI. in 1549 they received every encouragement. In his short reign the intercourse with the Continental Churches and divines was intimate. Refugees of the

Reformed faith abounded in London; a "Church of the Strangers" was formed there, with the famous John A'Lasco as its minister; the attitude of Archbishop Cranmer was indicated by his proposal to hold a conference of all the Reformed Churches with a view to framing a common Confession, "which all might own and agree in"; and the young King himself drew up a plan of Church Reform, in which a leading feature was the "reducing" of Episcopacy. Presbyterian principles were fast penetrating the Church, when in 1553 King Edward VI. died, and was succeeded by Queen Mary of "bloody" memory.

Mary's reign of five lurid years, though disastrous for the time being to the Reformed cause in England, by its very severity contributed to the ultimate triumph of the cause and also helped considerably to further the progress of Presbyterianism. This curious consequence resulted from the compulsory flight from England to the Continent of many prominent Protestants. First Frankfort and then Geneva were favourite cities of refuge, and in the latter especially the Presbyterian environment told powerfully on the visitors. On the death of Mary in 1558 and the accession of Queen Elizabeth, they returned to England convinced Presbyterians, eager to impress their convictions on the Church of England while still in her plastic condition.

At Wandsworth in 1572 a voluntary association of ordained elders, along with the parish minister, was formed—a Presbyterian Church court within the Church of England. That same year a formal representation or "Admonition" to Parliament was presented, setting forth in detail the changes deemed necessary in the Church's constitution and practice. The Queen was indignant at this invasion of the royal prerogative, and the signatories to the document were imprisoned; but the leavening

went on. Numerous voluntary associations on the Wandsworth model sprang up, and in 1583 a *Directory of Church Government*, which sought a legal standing for Presbyterianism in the Church of England, was issued. Within a few years this document was signed by some five hundred of the Church of England clergy.

2. Opposition (1583–1640).—The appointment in 1583 of Archbishop Whitgift to succeed the tolerant and kindly Grindal in the see of Canterbury, provided the Queen with a sympathetic ecclesiastical coadjutor, and forthwith there began a vigorous endeavour to remove the Presbyterian leaven from the National Church. Various considerations helped to stiffen the royal purpose and also to further its execution. Jesuit plots had shown the need for greater unity in the Church of England, the extreme utterances of some of the Puritan reformers brought about a conservative reaction in many quarters, and the beginning of a cleavage between the Presbyterian and the Puritan sections of the party of change had become visible. The way for coercive measures for enforcing uniformity was thus prepared, but their harshness was excessive. Under powers given by the Act of Supremacy an ecclesiastical Court of High Commission was appointed by the Queen, and given sweeping powers for dealing with recalcitrant clergy. Suspension, imprisonment, and deprivation were penalties freely applied to all who refused a strict obedience to the Act of Uniformity in the conduct of their church services. Practically absolute power was in the hands of the Primate, and it was despotically used. During Elizabeth's reign it has been estimated that one-third of the English clergy suffered greater or lesser penalties under this imperious regime. Presbyterianism was silenced, and for the time its progress was stayed.

In 1603 James VI. of Scotland ascended the throne of England, left vacant by Elizabeth's death. English Pres-

byterians hoped for great things, but they were soon disillusioned. His experience of a Presbyterian Church in Scotland had convinced King James that "Presbytery agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the Devil." To the end of his reign he was the resolute foe of Presbyterianism in his new kingdom. Charles I., his successor, was equally hostile, but from a more honourable cause. He was an earnest Episcopalian and his actions sprang from deep conviction, whereas his father had been moved by considerations of policy alone. In Archbishop Laud King Charles found a like-minded co-worker, and insistence on uniformity, extrusion of all opposing elements, and punishment of all who opposed, grew more intense. The case against Presbyterianism was sharpened by the propagation, for the first time in the Church of England, of the dogma of the divine right of Episcopacy and the invalidity of any ordination other than Episcopal. For Presbyterianism the times were indeed dark, but a new day was about to dawn.

3. **Progress and Power** (1640–1649).—Despotism in State and Church brought their inevitable consequences. Political strife grew hotter and religious controversy sharpened. The extreme measures of Laud alienated great numbers of loyal Episcopalians. Events in Scotland, where the King's endeavour to root out Presbyterianism from the National Church had been brought to nought, gave heartening to those of Presbyterian sympathies in England. The age of royal absolutism in England was hastening to a close, and when in 1640 the King was compelled to summon the "Long Parliament," a new era had arrived.

Parliament met, resolved on large reforms both in Church and State. A purified and modified Episcopacy would at first have satisfied the large majority; but the determined opposition of the Laudian bishops to Parlia-

mentary rule, combined with the desirableness of securing a political alliance with Scotland, led rapidly to more drastic measures. In 1642 the bishops were excluded from the House of Lords. In 1643 the Commons, assembled in St. Margaret's Church, swore "with uplifted hands" to observe the Solemn League and Covenant and to extirpate popery, prelacy, superstition, schism and profaneness from the realm. That same year there met in the Jerusalem chamber of the Abbey the famous *Westminster Assembly* (10 lords, 20 commoners and 121 divines), summoned by Parliament to advise as to the reconstruction of the Church of England. For the Presbyterianism of the English-speaking world no Assembly of equal moment has ever met. From it there issued the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Longer and Shorter Catechisms, and the Directory of Public Worship—documents whose impress and influence has been world-wide. In England itself for the time being the results were amazing. The Assembly's documents were approved by Parliament, and on 29th June 1647 *Presbyterianism became the legal polity of the Church of England.* Ever since the Reformation it had been but a tendency and a spirit within the Church; now for the first time it found organised expression, and there was a Presbyterian Church in England.

In practice, however, the Presbyterianism of the National Church extended only a little way. In London and in Lancashire it was a living force; elsewhere it made but little headway. Had time been given, and had Presbyterians been able to show less of the intolerance which was characteristic of the age, a lasting democratic note would doubtlessly have been infused into the Church of England. But time was not given, nor was the other condition fulfilled. With the rise of Cromwell religious toleration was enforced throughout England. Presbyterians

and Episcopalians alike complained, but a compulsory pause was imposed on all ecclesiastical developments. Yet for thirteen years the Church of England was Presbyterian, though the system was scarce permitted to function.

4. Overthrow (1660–1688).—In 1660 Charles II. was recalled from his long exile to ascend the throne of England. For Presbyterianism this Restoration of the Stuarts proved calamitous. Presbyterians, indeed, had been active in securing the King's recall, but Charles II. was ever as incapable of gratitude as he was indifferent to principle. A mad orgy of reaction set in when a subservient Parliament became the King's willing tool. Presbyterianism was cast down, Episcopacy was restored, and on 19th May 1662 there was passed the *Act of Uniformity*, the harshest piece of legislation ever framed by one Protestant communion against another. Ordination by bishops was made obligatory on all ministers whose previous ordination had been other than episcopal. The "League and Covenant," to which so many had sworn, had to be abjured; and the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the King, no matter what the provocation, had to be acknowledged. Failure on the part of ministers to comply with these requirements within three months involved immediate forfeiture of their livings. The time limit expired on St. Batholomew's day, 24th August 1662, and some two thousand ministers of the Church of England, mostly Presbyterian in their convictions, were driven, along with their families, from their churches and their homes. Subsequent acts deepened the shame of the persecuting party. The *Conventicle Act* forbade any religious meeting of more than five persons unless they were Episcopalians. The *Five Mile Act* prohibited ejected ministers from entering the towns or boroughs. The *Oxford Act* barred all but Episcopalians from the universities. Breaches of these Acts were

punished with heavy fines or long imprisonment. It was an appalling time, and the stain it has left on those who wrought the cruel injustice is all the darker by reason of the high Christian character of many of those who were cast out. Richard Baxter, John Howe, John Flavel, Philip Henry, and many others of like piety and worth were among the ejected two thousand. But the desired end was attained. For the time Presbyterianism in England ceased to be.

5. Toleration and Decay (1688–1800).—The Revolution of 1688 brought relief to the sorely stricken Presbyterians, in common with all other "Nonconformists," as the non-Episcopal communities were now termed. William of Orange, himself a Presbyterian, urged the inclusion of all Protestants within a broad-based National Church, but the Episcopalian party would have none of it. The utmost that could be secured was toleration. Presbyterians might build their own meeting-houses and worship therein, but they were forbidden to create a Presbyterian organisation. No Presbyteries or Synods were permitted. It was a toleration of Presbyterian worship, but it was not a toleration of Presbyterianism; and still less was it sanction for a Presbyterian Church. Nevertheless, the limited concession was welcomed, and numerous meeting-houses speedily arose where Presbyterian ministers officiated.

The ultimate result, however, proved disastrous. Deprived by law of any organisation which would have secured cohesion and supervision, the Presbyterian congregations in practice became independent units, and this inevitable tendency was regularised when in 1691 there took place the so-called "Happy Union" of Presbyterians and Independents in London. By this fateful agreement Presbyterians resigned themselves to what the law enforced. They surrendered the distinctive

feature of conciliar government, and became in practice congregationalists, but without the usual congregational control over the pulpit. Throughout the eighteenth century Presbyterian ministers were a law unto themselves, uncontrolled alike in the doctrines they preached and in the form of divine service they adopted. Unhappily this century of isolation and license was England's century of deism and open unbelief, and the nominal Presbyterianism which existed largely succumbed to the influences of the age. Steadfast souls were not wanting, —such men as John Flavel, Matthew Henry, and Edmund Calamy,—but in the main Evangelical orthodoxy was replaced by Arianism, and finally by Unitarianism. Presbyterianism and Unitarianism came to be accepted as equivalent terms.

In few other lands has the Presbyterian cause ever sunk quite so far. Yet there was a faithful remnant, notably in Northumberland, where not a few congregations remained true to their old allegiance, and lived on to form a link with the better future which was in store. Nor is it true to say, as has often been said, that Presbyterianism had been tried in England and had been found wanting. Any fair trial of its principles had been forbidden by the law of England. The organisation that secures the vigorous life and growth of Presbyterianism had been proscribed. Hence came decay, and a state of things not far removed from death.

6. Resurgence of Presbyterianism (1800–1876).—With the opening of the nineteenth century there came a revival of Presbyterianism, which originated in forces partly English, but mainly Scottish. In England the evangelical revival largely due to Methodism told on all the Churches, and among the remanent congregations of English Presbyterianism, particularly in the north, its effects were very marked. It was, however, the impulse

from Scotland which enabled this new life to result in a progressive and organised Church. Isolated congregations of Scottish Presbyterians had existed in London since 1672, and in 1760 a small "Scots Presbytery" had there taken shape. The increasing flow of Scottish immigrants into other cities, such as Liverpool, Manchester, and Newcastle, added to congregations of this type; and they were yet further increased as a consequence of the rise in Scotland of the Secession Churches of the eighteenth century. Presbyterian immigrants from these latter created congregations of their own sympathies in England, while the earlier congregations had owned a spiritual allegiance to the Church of Scotland. With one or other of these immigrant communities the surviving English Presbyterian congregations largely associated themselves, but that Scottish influence dominated was shown by the names adopted by the two Presbyterian groups, when they reached the stage of wider organisation.

In 1836 was formed *The Presbyterian Synod in England, in connection with the Church of Scotland*, which by 1842 comprised 7 Presbyteries and 63 congregations. In 1867 the congregations of Scottish Secession origin, about one hundred in number, grouped themselves to form *The English Synod of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland.* Upon the reviving Presbyterianism in England the Scottish Disruption in 1843 had a great influence and left enduring consequences. The Synod in connection with the Church of Scotland split in two. Sixty-three congregations, whose sympathies were with the Free Church, constituted themselves into an independent organisation,—*The Presbyterian Church in England*; while eighteen congregations, sympathising with the Scottish National Church, continued under the old name. The separation

of the majority from the Church of Scotland made a union between them and the English Synod of the United Presbyterians a natural step, though not an altogether easy one, seeing that it would mean the loss to the United Presbyterian Church of her English Synod; but the step was accomplished. At Liverpool in 1876 the Union took place, and *The Presbyterian Church of England* was formed, with 270 congregations and 50,000 members. This marked a new stage in English Presbyterianism. A Presbyterian Church inspired by memories both of English Puritanism and Scottish Presbyterianism, no longer merely tolerated but with her rightful place in the land fully acknowledged, at last took her position among the recognised Churches of England.

7. **Present Condition.**—Since the Union nigh half a century has passed, and the growth of the Church though not rapid has been continuous, the congregations in 1921 numbering 353 and the membership 83,728, while in that same year the Synod gave way to a General Assembly as the highest Church Court. The place of the Church, however, in the religious thought and life of England is larger than the statistics would imply, a fact due to the unusual number of eminent men who have been connected with her work. Dr. Oswald Dykes, Dr. John Watson ("Ian Maclaren"), Sir William Robertson Nicoll, and many others have shed lustre on their Church, while in the realms of theological scholarship her record is high: nor must her vigorous missionary life as represented by her China Mission be overlooked. But of all the features of to-day the most significant is the increasing extent to which the Church identifies herself with England. The friendship with Scotland continues close, but it is in her service for England that the Church now seeks and finds fullest justification for her existence. The transfer, in 1895, of the theological students from London to Westminster

College at Oxford was one helpful step towards this end, and has tended to secure a preponderance of Englishmen for the Church's ministry. Another has been the entry of the Church into the "Federation of the Free Churches of England," after the aims of the Federation had been expressly stated to be moral and spiritual, and not political. And yet another is the marked readiness of the Church to embark on new departures both in doctrinal statements and in Presbyterian usages,—a feature which distinguishes her in such matters from the larger and more conservative Churches of Presbyterian Scotland.

B. The Presbyterian Church in Wales—The Calvinistic Methodist Church

1. Origin.—Alone of all the Presbyterian Churches of Britain, that of Wales owes nothing to Scotland. Both in her origin and development she is peculiarly Welsh. As an organised Church she is little over a century old, but the movement of which she was the outcome dates back to 1735, when the Church in Wales, which fully shared in the deadness of the period, was roused from her apathy by the voice of an earnest young preacher, *Howell Harris* of Trevecca, in Brecknockshire. Harris was a layman of the Church of England, and for a layman to presume to preach was then a strange heresy. To his friends he seemed beside himself, and a hasty despatch to Oxford was devised as a cure, but with no success. Returning to Trevecca, he resumed his preaching, with the result that a widespread revival took place over South Wales. Other like-minded apostles caught the flame: *Daniel Rowlands*, curate of Llangeitho, in the county of Cardigan; and *Howell Davies*, curate of Llysyfran, in Pembrokeshire. Whitefield, the great preacher, who was then rousing England with his

appeals, lent his aid to the movement, and, as one after another of the evangelically disposed clergy of Wales avowed their sympathy, rapid headway was made. No breach was made with the Church of England, nor was any such desired. Like the Wesleyan movement in England, so was this of Wales a revival within the Church, and led by men devoted to the Church. The duty of receiving communion at the hands of Episcopally ordained clergymen was distinctly enforced. *Societies* in the various parishes were, indeed, formed by those who sympathised with the movement, but they were spiritual, as contrasted with ecclesiastical, in their aims—for the growth in grace of the members, not for the forming of a new organisation. Similar movements arising in the Church to-day are welcomed as additional forces for good, but on the English Church of the eighteenth century a fatal blindness rested, and both in England and in Wales the apostles of the new life were persistently opposed. Fines and imprisonment were the penalties for frequenting conventicles; stoning and maltreating the conventiclers was winked at by the authorities; and thus slowly but surely the links of attachment to the Church of England were snapped asunder.

2. **Formation of the Church.**—In 1811 the decisive step was taken. An unusually rapid growth of the "Societies" in the opening year of the century had revealed the great need of evangelical clergy in the Principality. The Bishops either would not or could not help in supplying the need, and thus by the logic of circumstances the leaders of the movement were forced back to the Scriptural method of *Ordination by Presbyters.* Under the guidance of the *Rev. Thomas Charles* of Bala, who had been driven from the Establishment because of his pronounced Evangelicalism, the decisive resolution was adopted, and in 1811 there were ordained, by the laying on of the hands of the

Presbyters, eight workers at Bala and thirteen at Llandilo. The spiritual movement within the Church had become itself a Church. The rubicon once passed, the *Calvinistic Methodist Connection*, as the new organisation was termed, settled down to steady work. At first it was little more than a union of evangelical Christians with no ecclesiastical status, but when it proceeded to formulate a creed and constitution it was found that they were distinctly Calvinistic and Presbyterian. The Societies easily shaded off into Presbyteries; these in turn were grouped under two "Associations" or Synods (one for North Wales, the other for South Wales); and in 1864 a further Presbyterian development took place in the formation of a General Assembly for all Wales. The final step of giving the Assembly supreme authority over the Church has, however, not yet been taken. Government remains with the two Associations; and the functions of the Assembly are to co-ordinate and advise. In this important respect Welsh Presbyterianism differs from the Scottish type. It is expected, however, that very soon the Assembly will be crowned with authority as well as with honour.

3. Sixty Years' Developments.—The measure of unification reached in 1864 marked the opening of a period of steady advance in all the apparatus and organisations which minister to a Church's life and efficiency. Education has been a particular care of the Church alike as regards the ministry and the youth of the whole community. Bala and Aberystwyth are the two main centres of theological training, the latter possessing the college where students spend three years of their regular course, while to the college at Bala all proceed for their final year of training. In seeking to secure a good educational system for all Wales, persistent and not unsuccessful endeavours have been made to arrive at a common under-

standing with the Anglican Church (now disestablished in Wales). The Foreign Mission of the Church in Assam, begun in 1840, has been outstanding in its success, as also has been the Home Mission. This, begun in 1893 by Dr. Pugh under the name of the "Forward Movement," and continued later by Dr. J. Morgan Jones, has attained great dimensions, evangelistic halls having been built in 30 city centres at a cost of £174,000, where 100,000 men are regularly ministered to. In 1921 there were 1481 congregations connected with the Church, 961 ministers, 187,000 communicant members, and a community approximating 500,000.

4. Features of the Present.—As contrasted with the Anglican Church in Wales, the strength of the Presbyterian Church lies in her peculiarly national character. Welsh in her origin, she has remained Welsh throughout her history. Her ministers are Welshmen born and bred, sons of the people, speaking their tongue and knowing their ways. In over three-fourths of the congregations Welsh is the only language used, and in the Church Courts it is the same. In 382 congregations English is the language employed, a fact which gives the English side of Welsh Presbyterianism a numerically higher place than the Presbyterian Church of England. Annually, after the close of the Welsh General Assembly, the English wing of the Church holds a *Conference* for the discussion of matters which specially concern the English congregations. This is in no sense a Court of the Church; but the fact is not without significance that of late years a majority of the new congregations of the Church have been in connection with the English section. One of the most striking features in the Welsh Church to-day is her increasing readiness to seek closer fellowship with the wider Presbyterian family in Britain, and to emphasise her Presbyterian features. The meeting this year (1925) in

Cardiff of the Quadrennial Council of the Presbyterian Alliance, on the cordial invitation of the Welsh Church, is a further indication of her widening outlook and her extending ties.

CHAPTER X

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To pass from the Presbyterianism of Europe to that of America and the Colonies is to enter on the third stage in the extension of the Presbyterian Church. A changed atmosphere surrounds us. New circumstances create new difficulties and result in new developments. No longer do we meet with thrilling records of martyrdoms for the faith, or bloody battles for religious freedom. In their place we find accounts, less stirring but no less important, of the slow building up of congregations in the midst of poverty, and the gradual formation of a Constitution in the face of petty and harassing, but not deadly, opposition. Poetry has given place to prose. Corresponding with this change is the change in the nature of the victory. It is now the victory of a great principle as contrasted with the triumphs of great leaders. The merits of *Presbyterianism*, rather than the strong personality of prominent *Presbyters*, win the day. Not so was it on the Continent, neither was it so in Scotland. In a very real sense Calvin, Knox, and Melville were the makers of the Presbyterian Churches there. But in the trans-oceanic development, though great leaders have not been wanting, their name and fame has been overshadowed by the name and fame of the Churches they helped to establish. A third notable feature

in this last phase of Presbyterian expansion is its peculiarly *Scottish* nature. Holland, France, and Germany have nobly helped, but the Churches of America and the Colonies show a true instinct when they point to the Church of Scotland as the mother of them all. Transoceanic Presbyterianism is the *Scottish Church Abroad.*

I. The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America

Presbyterianism, which has in modern times attained its greatest development in America, was comparatively late in entering on the scene of its triumphs. *Episcopacy* had gone to Virginia with the early emigrants in 1604, and by the close of the seventeenth century had stamped its character strongly on the southern colonies. *Independency*, which had accompanied the Pilgrim Fathers to New England in 1620, had attained a similar position in the colonies of the north. But the seventeenth century was nearing its end before *Presbyterian* congregations, of British origin, began to appear, and the next century had begun ere the first Presbytery had been formed. Presbyterians there were in abundance, scattered among the colonies, the representatives of the once powerful Presbyterian wing of the Puritan party in England, but nowhere were they sufficiently numerous and powerful to organise a Church on their own lines. To make this possible two things were needed, a large influx of Presbyterian colonists and an organising mind. From Scotland and the North of Ireland the wants were supplied.

1. Presbyterian Immigration.—To these two Presbyterian centres the return of the Stuarts in 1660 had brought persecution, and large numbers of Presbyterians had to seek freedom to worship God by crossing the Atlantic. In Scotland the authorities were so glad to

get rid of their stubborn subjects that they aided their departure, and from 1660 to 1688 a steady stream of emigration flowed westward. Not in twos and threes, but in compact bands of hundreds they went, in some cases proprietors accompanied by their tenants, in others ministers with their flocks. Their destinations varied—some to Carolina, others to Maryland—but the great majority were drawn to the *Middle Colonies*, *New Jersey*, and *Pennsylvania*, where substantial inducements to Scottish emigrants were offered by the sagacious Penn. "There," says Bancroft, the American historian, "Scottish Presbyterians of virtue, education, and courage, blending a love of popular liberty with religious enthusiasm, came in such numbers as to give to the rising commonwealth a character which a century and a half has not effaced."

Churches were built at various places and services commenced, the first in the field being the church at *Freehold* in New Jersey, which was built in 1692. Elsewhere Ulster colonists and other colonists from Scotland were doing likewise, so that by the close of the century upwards of thirty congregations had been formed, one-half of which were in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

2. Formation of the First Presbytery.—The hour had come for organising the forces, and in *Francis Makemie* was found the man for the work. Makemie, to whom the honour belongs of being the founder of the American Church, was a licentiate of the Presbytery of Lagan in Ulster, by which Presbytery he had been despatched in 1683, in pastoral charge of a band of emigrants. Since then he had combined the callings of merchant and evangelist, and in his wanderings had learned the true extent of Presbyterianism, and the necessity of the Presbyterians combining their forces for defence as well as for advance. Episcopacy had seen the advent of the Scots and Ulstermen with jealous eyes, and already Makemie had been made to feel

its power for persecution, by having been fined and imprisoned in New York for the crime of preaching the Gospel. Accordingly, when in 1699 he was called to minister to the congregation of Snowhill in Maryland, he set his hands to the work, and in 1706, at his instigation, seven ministers met and formed the *Presbytery of Philadelphia*. It was not an imposing court, nor in the Scottish sense of the word was it a court at all, but only, as it declared itself to be, "a meeting of ministers to consult the most proper measures for advancing religion and propagating Christianity." None the less it was the beginning of the American Presbyterian Church, and in its membership well expressed the different elements from which the future Church was to derive her strength. *Makemie* and *Hampton* were Ulster Scots; *M'Nish* and *Taylor* were Scots; the remaining three, *Andrews*, *Davis*, and *Wilson*, were sturdy sons of New England. Of the seven, the first three were graduates of Glasgow University.

3. Rapid Development.—As has been the case so frequently in the history of Presbyterianism, organisation was followed by rapid development. Appeals for men and money were sent to the headquarters of British Presbyterianism—Scotland, Ulster, Dublin, and London—and from all the response was hearty and generous. In Scotland the *Synod of Glasgow* took up the burden of the young Church with unusual zeal, and for fifty years was unfailing in its help. For this the credit was mainly due to *Principal Stirling* of Glasgow University, who took a keen interest in a colonial Church whose ministers were to a large extent *alumni* of that seat of learning. At this period, when the home Churches were thus supplying the colonies with ministers, the working of the *Test Act* in Ireland was sending thousands of Presbyterians across the sea to swell the membership. So rapid was the growth of the Church in consequence, that in 1716 the one Presbytery

blossomed into four, which united to form the *Synod of Philadelphia*. The second stage in the development had been reached.

4. Doctrinal Troubles.—With increased growth came increased responsibilities, and of these the first which faced the Church was the necessity of declaring her Creed and Constitution. Practically these had been distinctly Calvinistic and Presbyterian, but hitherto no formula had declared Calvinism a necessity, nor had the authority of Presbytery and Synod been accurately defined. To the *Presbytery of Newcastle*, Delaware, it now seemed time to put an end to this nebulosity. It had found by experience that the orthodoxy of immigrant ministers from home could no longer be taken for granted. Strange rationalistic heresies came with them, and accordingly in 1724 this watchful Presbytery, most of whose members were Scots or Ulstermen, enacted that, so far as it was concerned, all future licentiates and incoming ministers should subscribe to the Westminster Confession of Faith. An overture to the Synod of Philadelphia requested that a similar enactment should be passed for the whole Church. But the Synod demurred, and in the controversy which followed there was brought to light for the first time the existence of two distinct schools in the Church. On the one side were the strict Presbyterians of Scottish and Irish training, while on the other were the American born and bred New Englanders—men reared in an atmosphere where Independency was dominant, and to whom the orderly ways and limitations of British Presbyterians were strange. The leader of the New England party was *Jonathan Dickinson*, and mainly owing to his tact the controversy, which threatened to divide the Church, was closed by a compromise. This was attained by the passing of the most important doctrinal act of the American Church, the *Adopting Act* of 1729. The Westminster standards were

adopted "as being *in all the essential and necessary articles* good forms of sound words and systems of Christian doctrine"; and with similar moderation the Westminster Directory of Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church was ordered to be observed "*as near as circumstances will allow and Christian prudence direct.*" By these cautious enactments American Presbyterianism was saved from the danger of lapsing into Congregationalism, and at the same time secured a flexibility of development very necessary in a new country without sacrificing its historic connection with the Presbyterianism of Britain.

5. **The First Disruption.**—The division of parties received fresh exemplification in the next controversy which arose, when the point of issue was the need of an *Educated Ministry*. The continued influx of Presbyterian colonists had resulted in a great widening of the field which the Synod had in charge, and the call for more ministers became urgent. The supply from the home Churches was not nearly sufficient, nor could the New England colleges help as much as was required. To meet this emergency *William Tennent*, who had emigrated from Dublin in 1727 and settled in Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, started there a humble seminary for training evangelists, which became famous as *The Log College*. Tennent, though a Presbyterian and a powerful agent in extending the Presbyterian Church, was more of a Methodist in his ways and ideas than most of his co-Presbyters. "A godly ministry" was his watchword, and godly, earnest men were many of his students. But they were, as a rule, lacking in the culture, education, and orderly habits dear to Presbyterian traditions. Ministers of the older and staider type saw the new un-Presbyterian development with grave disapproval, and their discontent was rapidly increasing, when *Whitefield's* arrival in 1739 brought matters to an issue. Tennent and his followers threw

themselves heartily into the revival movement, brushed aside many recognised Presbyterian usages, invaded the charges of brother ministers, and from the pulpit stigmatised certain of them as unconverted, and unfit for ministerial duty. The breach widened, and ultimately resolutions of the Synod, enforcing Presbyterian usage as to an educated ministry and Presbyterian discipline over Presbyterian ministers, brought disruption. In 1745 the Church was rent asunder, and for fourteen years American Presbyterianism presented a divided front. Two Synods were formed—the *Synod of Philadelphia* or *Old Side*, representing the conservative party; and the *Synod of New York* or *New Side*, composed of the forward and distinctively American party. Yet though apart they were not rivals, and to both time brought wisdom. The Old Side felt the necessity of earnestness even at the expense of culture, while the New Side came to recognise the need of culture so far as to found, for the training of its students, the institution known in later times as Princeton College. The differences had disappeared, and in 1758 the *United Synod of Philadelphia and New York* again proclaimed the Church a unity.

6. **Growth of re-united Church.**—Rapid extension and increased realisation of her duties marked the Church for the next twenty years. Missions to the Native Indians had been entered on by the New York Synod in 1741, when, at the instigation of the Scottish Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and through its aid, the *Brainerds* had begun their famous work. By the United Church this work was now cordially adopted, and missions recognised as a necessary part of her duty. In like manner the New Jersey College received increased attention. From Scotland in 1768 came *Dr. John Witherspoon* to be its president, a man destined to exercise a marked influence upon his adopted Church. On all sides

the Church was extending her influence, and, when in 1775 the *American Revolution* broke out, Presbyterianism had become a distinctive mark of the Middle Colonies. The Synod included 11 Presbyteries and 132 ministers, and if to this be added the numerous Presbyterian side-growths of dissenting British origin, the number swells to 186. In the war almost the whole strength of Presbyterianism went to help the colonial side. It was a Nemesis on the mother country for the long and bitter persecutions she had suffered a dominant Episcopacy to wage on the Presbyterians in her home dominions. Britain's victory, it was with good reason feared, would mean the establishment of Episcopacy in the colonies, and a repetition of the old hateful days. So it was that almost to a man the Presbyterians ranged themselves on the side of freedom. They had their reward. Grievous harm indeed to the Churches and heavy losses in men marked the course of the war, but when all was over and independence secured, the Presbyterian Church had found a place in the hearts of the Americans which she never since has lost. She had proved herself a *National* Church. Under the guidance of Dr. Witherspoon the finishing touch was now given to the Constitution. In 1789, 13 Presbyteries met at Philadelphia, and forming the *First General Assembly*, settled the Constitution on the altered lines rendered necessary by the country's independence. Scottish models were followed and the Westminster standards adopted, all being conditioned by the declaration, "God alone is Lord of the conscience." The numerical strength of the Church was 4 Synods, 13 Presbyteries, 188 ministers, and 419 congregations.

7. Alliance with Congregationalism.—The beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed an instructive experiment in Church Federation. The struggle with the mother country had drawn the colonists close to each other.

"Union" and "Federation" were the words of the hour, and in 1801 the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, becoming infected with the prevalent spirit, formulated the *Plan of Union*. According to this famous "Plan," which was enthusiastically adopted by both Churches, a very advanced mutual eligibility scheme came into action. Congregational ministers might be called to Presbyterian charges without becoming responsible to the General Assembly; while, on the other hand, Presbyterian ministers might be in charge of Congregational Churches without thereby becoming Congregationalists, and as a matter of fact continued to be responsible to the Presbyterian courts. It was an attempt to externalise Christian unity, by ignoring the peculiarities of the two denominations. So far as the Presbyterian Church was concerned, the effect was significant. The number of her congregations increased, but the Church as a whole became leavened with Congregational ideas, and fast developed a tendency to Congregational methods. Of this the first clear sign was given in the system adopted for supplying the needs of the troops of emigrants now pushing far to the west of the Alleghanies. Ten to twenty thousand members were added to the Church annually, and for meeting their wants the Church's Home Mission Scheme was inadequate. Further extension of that Scheme, under control of the Church, would have been the true Presbyterian solution, but private Societies working outside the Church, and not responsible to her, were permitted to do the greater part of the work. The leaven of Congregationalism was working, and to her dismay the Church saw her hold on the younger congregations steadily loosening. To loss of disciplinary power there was added *laxity of doctrine*. In New England a broader theology than that of the Presbyterian standards had become prevalent, and when Congregationalist ministers of this new school were called to Presbyterian

Churches, their theology came with them. In very desperation a stand was at last made. *Albert Barnes*, a leader of the New School (whose commentary was once well known), on being called in 1830 to a Presbyterian congregation in Philadelphia, had his appointment vetoed by the Presbytery, on the grounds of known lax theology. It was a breach, no doubt, of the Plan of Union, but it was a reassertion of an abandoned Presbyterian principle. The battle once begun had to be fought out, and in 1837, after seven years' fighting, the end came. The Plan of Union was annulled; and this was followed the year after by the *Second Disruption* of the Church (1838). On the one side, the *Old School*, as it was termed, was the upholder of the traditional Presbyterian beliefs and constitution; on the other side stood the *New School*, in favour of greater freedom of doctrine and independence in government.

8. The Divided Church.—The period of separation thus begun lasted for thirty-two years—an unusually short lease of life for an ecclesiastical feud. That the quarrel was healed so speedily was due in a great measure to the rise of the agitation on the *Slavery Question*, which so engrossed men's minds as to dwarf all other considerations. Both Old School and New School included in their membership many who sympathised with the slave party of the South, and so high did the feeling run that both Churches found it necessary to cast off their *Southern* congregations. In 1857 the New School lost its Southern following, and on the outbreak of the war in 1861 the Southern Presbyteries of the Old School also seceded. These losses, arising from devotion to a common cause, drew the two Churches of the North sensibly nearer. By experience, too, the New School had learned that for a Presbyterian Church to prosper she must not pare down her principles nor abandon the old ways. Church Com-

mittees had taken the place of irresponsible Societies, and Presbyterian practices were again in the ascendant. In everything the Churches had become nearly one, and when in 1870 the formal *reunion* took place, the Presbyterian Church had attained a homogeneity such as she had never previously enjoyed. A Memorial Fund of 7,000,000 dollars testified to the enthusiasm with which the membership of the Churches regarded the action of the Assemblies. They had spoken for the people.

9. **Post-Union Progress.** — During the schism the separated Churches had done good work, notably in the department of *Home Missions*. From the necessities of the case in a new country, with a rapidly increasing population, this must always be the first care of a Church in touch with the people. It was so with the Presbyterian. From the Old School there went forth, within thirty-two years, 16,000 missioners, and from the New School 8800. The union of the Churches combined these forces; and to give stability to the new charges thus formed a *Sustentation Fund* was established. *Foreign Missions* also received increased attention. For a time, in the earlier part of the century, this part of the Church's work had been carried on through the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," an undenominational society which originated in Massachusetts in 1810. But on the development of the Presbyterian spirit in the Church, the desire grew to have the Missions put under Church control, and in 1837 this was done. In the earlier years of the schism the New School returned to the old method, but in 1854 it hoisted the Presbyterian flag once more, and now, since the reunion, the whole of the Foreign Missions of the Church, extending to Mexico, Brazil, Africa, Syria, Persia, India, China, and Japan, have been under the management of a committee of the Church. By 1900, over four hundred missionaries were at work in the Foreign field.

For the training of her ministers the Church possesses thirteen theological seminaries, of which the most noted and best equipped are Princeton in New Jersey, Union in New York, and those of Chicago, Allegheny, and Auburn. Through the excellence of these seminaries and the ability of the men therewith connected, many lasting benefits have come to the cause of Christian truth. *Hodge of Princeton* and *Schaff of Union*, and many of their present-day successors, have taken their place among the premier theologians and Church historians of Christendom.

10. Present Position.—With 1,772,361 members, 9979 ministers, and 9842 congregations (as reported in 1921) this great Church represents about two-thirds of the Presbyterian community of the United States. She is easily the largest Presbyterian Church in the world; and in wealth, in Christian liberality, in Home and Foreign enterprise, as also in courageous readiness to employ her great resources in facing the many new calls of this era of change, she is well entitled to the premier place in Presbyterianism. Since the Great War these qualities have been much in evidence. Like all the Presbyterian Churches in the United States, she was strongly pro-Ally from the opening of the war; and when at the end of the struggle America alone of the Allied Powers emerged wealthier and stronger than ever, this Church was among the first to enter on a great forward movement in the cause of religion which swept over the organised Churches of America.

In 1918 a *New Era Expansion Programme* was adopted, in aid of which a five years' campaign was entered on for the raising of 50 million dollars for new work. Some idea of the financial capacity of the Church is gathered from the fact that in 1922, a record year, her total contributions amounted to over 47 million dollars (or £9,000,000). Great expansion in Home work and yet

greater in the Foreign field have accompanied this financial progress. For Foreign Missions alone, in 1924 the offerings exceeded 5 million dollars, and the work in the field corresponded in magnitude. In 15 different countries, among 93 nationalities, 1600 missionaries are at work.

Similar progress, though on a smaller scale, has been general throughout the American Churches of recent years, but a distinction which is largely peculiar to this Church has been her unflagging zeal in the cause of *Presbyterian Union*, more particularly in connection with the still severed sister Church of the Southern States. In 1918 the General Assembly declared the desirableness of an Organic Union of all the Evangelical Churches in America, and pressed for a speedy union with the Southern Presbyterian Church. In 1920 the Assembly was unable to accept a Plan of Union devised by the American Council (of the Reformed Churches) on Organic Union; but in the same year, encouraged by the adhesion to herself of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church of the States with 15,000 members, as she had also been in 1906 by the incorporation of the major part of the Cumberland Church, the Assembly put forward a proposal for the constitution of a United Assembly of all the Presbyterian Churches of the States. The time for this, however, had not yet come. In 1922 a conference of representatives of all the Presbyterian Churches decided that while any Federal Union was premature closer relations were desirable, and should be sought under the existing Federal Council of Reformed Churches, whose functions are consultative and co-ordinating. The divided attitude of Presbyterianism on this Union question is singularly interesting. Agreeing in the main with the proposals of the greater Church are the two Reformed Churches of Dutch and German origin, while the large Southern

Church and the vigorous United Presbyterian Church prefer to maintain their separate identity.

In common with most of the American Churches the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. has felt both the theological unrest of the age and the consequent reaction. While far from being averse to the reception of new truth, she has considered it necessary to proclaim her adhesion to the things that cannot be shaken. In 1921 the Assembly certified to the loyal evangelicalism of the great body of the Church's missionaries, some of whom had been charged with "irregular beliefs and teachings"; and in 1923 the controversy over the case of Dr. Fosdick made the Assembly of that year exceptionally notable, and perhaps even historic. Dr. Fosdick, an eminent Baptist minister, had been officiating for some time in the First Church, New York, with the consent of the New York Presbytery and without any stipulation as to his doctrinal teaching. His teaching, especially as regarded the Incarnation, and also his ministerial status, were challenged by the Presbytery of Philadelphia. The General Assembly, after the most exciting debate for many years, by a majority vote of 451 to 427, instructed the Presbytery of New York to see that the teaching given conformed in future to that of the Confession of Faith; and in addition re-declared the doctrinal position of the Church, as it had been formulated in 1910, emphasising the five following points: (1) The Inerrancy of the Writers of Holy Scripture; (2) The Virgin Birth of Our Lord; (3) The Sacrificial Nature of the Atonement; (4) The Resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ "with the same body with which He suffered"; and (5) The Reality of our Lord's Miracles. Protests, formal and informal, against this declaration have since been numerous, and the end of this new doctrinal controversy is not yet. But the heart of the Church is

strong and sound, and the issue may be awaited with confidence.

II. Other Presbyterian Churches

The *Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, whose history we have been considering, strong though she be, is by no means coextensive with American Presbyterianism. Outside her borders are other flourishing Churches, which, though small in comparison with their powerful sister, are yet themselves strong and active, and in their combined membership include one-third of the Presbyterians of the land. These are of diverse origin, some being purely American, having started as offshoots from the main stem, while others have been separate from their commencement, preferring to retain their connection with British or Continental Presbyterian Churches.

A. *Churches of American Origin*

(1) Of these the most important is The Presbyterian Church in the United States (South), which was formed in 1861 by the union of the southern fragments, which had separated on the Slavery question from the Old and New School Churches of the North. Common devotion to the interests of the South brought union, and after the turmoil of the war the new Church set herself to work out her calling on the old Presbyterian lines. Colleges were established for the training of her ministers, the leading institution being that at Hampden Sidney, Virginia, and the other equipments of a Christian Church speedily followed. The presence in her field of 4,000,000 liberated slaves decided her mission work, and though foreign missions are carried on in Mexico, Brazil, and China, the distinguishing evangelistic work of the Church is that amongst the negroes. In theology and practice she has

been true to the conservative spirit of the South, and holds strongly to the old Presbyterian ways. With the Church of the North the relations are friendly, but there is no keen desire for union. Slavery, the chief bone of contention at the time of the old schism, exists no longer, yet in the course of years other differences have developed which still prevent any practical response to the persistent wooing of the Northern Church. The mentality of the Churches is not the same. The tendency of the Northern Church to link religion with politics is not shared by the South, and in theology the Southern Church is a lover of old ways and is distrustful of the adventurous thought of the North, so she prefers to walk alone, and by her work for the negroes and her Christian liberality has won a high place in general esteem. Within the Church four Presbyteries are composed entirely of coloured congregations, with 2700 communicants and 33 ministers. These Presbyteries form the *Afro-American Synod*, which has equal standing in the General Assembly with the Synods of pure whites.

The standard of giving is remarkably high, the total liberality in 1923 exceeding 12 million dollars, and representing an average per member which is probably the highest in America. Doctrinal questions have recently called for the Assembly's attention, but deviations from the old paths are summarily dealt with. Complaints in 1924 of the erroneous teaching given in a Union College in China evoked the notice from the Assembly that the Church would withdraw her support from the College unless the errors ceased. And on the general question the same Assembly declined to make any statement on particular doctrines, in view of the "clarity and fulness" of the Confession of Faith and the Catechism.

With a membership of over 400,000, 2000 ministers, and 3500 congregations, the Church of the South is a great power for good.

(2) The Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which is a smaller offshoot from the parent Church, has had a separate existence of over a century. She originated in the Kentucky revival at the end of the eighteenth century, when doctrinal and ecclesiastical vagaries became so rampant that the Assembly had to intervene. The ordination of illiterate men by the Cumberland Presbytery was forbidden, with the result that the reproved ministers seceded and formed a Presbytery of their own. Out of this developed a Church which continued Presbyterian in polity, but abandoned the Presbyterian tradition of an educated ministry, and excised from the standards the more severe of the tenets of Calvinism. After a century of separate existence there developed in many quarters an appreciation of the more regular ways of the old Church, and of the historic tradition of an educated ministry which had been there maintained; and in 1906 this resulted in the readmission of the majority of the ministers and members to the Presbyterian Church of U.S.A. A substantial minority held out and challenged the legality of the Union. The case was long contested, but in 1918 the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the legal validity of the Union, and assigned the ownership and control of property to the United Church.

The minority have continued their life and work under the old name and on the old lines, and in 1921 the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was reported as having 64,452 members, 1388 congregations, and 752 ministers.

B. *Churches of Scottish Secession Origin*

The United Presbyterian Church of North America

Of the various divisions of American Presbyterianism, the great Presbyterian Churches of the North and South

are those which stand in direct historic continuity with the old National Church of Scotland. It was to the Church in the eighteenth century, of which these are the two modern representatives, that the Scottish Church gave her most cordial sympathy and practical help. But from the early days of Presbyterianism there have also existed in the colonies representatives of the Scottish Secession Churches. So long as the connection with the mother country continued, Scottish colonists were found who carried with them to their new home the keen ecclesiastical loyalties of the old, and who witnessed to their fervour by holding aloof from the Church growing up around them and forming organisations of their own. Until the Revolution cut the cord which bound the Old country to the New, every schism in Scotland found supporters in the colonies, and caused a fresh division there—a touching illustration of the closeness of the Scottish national tie, but too eloquent of Scottish ecclesiastical rigidity. By the close of the first half of the eighteenth century the energy of *Alexander Craighead*, a rigid covenanting minister, had organised several congregations in alliance with the *Reformed Presbytery* of Scotland. In 1736, three years after the formation of the *Associate Presbytery* at Gairney Bridge, a request for ministers went home from colonial sympathisers, but without effect. Better fortune awaited the petitioners in 1751. Then the tidings of the Burgher and Anti-Burgher divisions had stimulated afresh the schismatic tendency. Separating from the Reformed Presbytery, Craighead and a few others appealed to the *Anti-Burgher Synod* in Scotland, with the result that two ministers were sent out, and in 1754 was formed the *Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania*, in subordination to the Anti-Burgher Synod in Scotland. Union with the *Associate Presbytery of New York* in 1776 doubled the Church's strength, while side by side, but not uniting,

there continued the original Reformed Presbytery which Craighead had organised and then abandoned. But, as with other American Churches, so with these : war brought union. The Revolution which gave independence to the colonies forced independence on the Churches. Compulsory separation from Scotland and its ecclesiastical feuds opened the eyes of the Churches to the folly of their separation, and in 1782 the Presbyteries, Associate and Reformed, united under the name of the *Associate Reformed Church.* A minority of the Associate Presbytery, which kept aloof, continued as a separate Church until 1858, when she too abandoned her isolation and combined with the others to form the *United Presbyterian Church of North America.* This Church, whose strength is mainly in Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio, with a membership of over 160,000, is to-day the powerful American representative of the Scottish eighteenth-century dissent. Other fragments there are, witnessing to minute points, but the main stream of Scottish Secession is here. In her devotion to the old ways, the Church has shown sterner zeal than her present-day Scottish parallels, solemn covenanting with God, and the use of the Psalms as the only permitted book of praise, having been most noticeable features ; but along with these conservative ways there is associated a strong evangelical spirit, which manifests itself in a highly successful Foreign Mission in Egypt and the Panjab.

The Church shared in the general post-war forward movement of the American Churches, and in 1918 launched a five years' intensive campaign for the raising of funds to develop the work both abroad and at home. Large success attended the effort ; and the effect on the Church's missionary work has been particularly marked. Conservative preferences both in theology and worship continue to rule, but recent happenings indicate a tendency to change. In 1923 the

Assembly issued to Presbyteries for their consideration a "Revised Statement of Faith," in which, while there was no departure from fundamentals, a more modern phraseology was used, and truths formerly insufficiently emphasised were given their rightful place. The Presbyteries generally approved; only on one point was there a serious division in the Assembly of 1924,—the permission to use hymns in the service of praise. In the Assembly the votes from the Mission Field Presbyteries gave the opponents of hymns a slight majority. It is, however, expected that in the near future hymns will cease to be definitely forbidden,—which will be enough to warrant their use where desired.

C. *Churches of Continental Origin*

In addition to the various Churches mentioned, all of which are British in their origin or moulding, America has also two powerful representatives of the older Presbyterianism of Continental Europe. These are the *Dutch* and *German Reformed Churches*, the legacy of the hunted Protestants of Holland, France, and the Rhine Palatinate, who in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries sought refuge across the Atlantic.

(1) The Reformed Church in America.—For long this Church bore a name which better told her origin—the *Dutch Reformed Church*—but in 1867, in evidence of her being completely Americanised, the ancestral word was dropped, after being used for over two centuries. Of all the Presbyterian Churches of America this is the oldest, dating back to the time when New York was yet New Amsterdam, a flourishing Dutch colony. In 1628 the first congregation was formed, with Jonas Michäelius as its pastor. Under the liberal support which Holland in those days accorded to its Colonial Churches,

other edifices soon arose, and the Church kept pace with the colony's growth. But in 1664 Holland's reign ended. New Amsterdam became New York, an English colony, in which for a time extension of Presbyterianism beyond the circle of the Dutch inhabitants was strongly opposed by the authorities. Not till the beginning of the eighteenth century did the obstructive policy end, and, when it did, the Church's progress was still seriously hindered by her touching adherence to the Dutch language in her services, and her continued subordination to the Classis of Amsterdam. Both features were against development among an English-speaking and an English-governed people, and accordingly they were in turn removed. From 1764 English was made permissible in the services of the Church, and in 1785—the epoch of Independence declarations—the Church declared herself an independent organisation, under the name of *The Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church.* From that date until the present time growth has been steady though not very rapid, the membership being now about 135,000. Gradually the Dutch language has fallen into disuse in the services of the Church, which is the natural result of the growing disuse of the same language in the community to which the Church ministers. Dutch immigrants are comparatively few and scattered, and in consequence the Dutch element and influence in the Church is becoming less powerful. But in ritual, in doctrine, and in government the old ways which the early immigrants brought with them are maintained. The Heidelberg Catechism still forms the chief doctrinal standard, and so great is the zeal for sound doctrine that, by the Church's law, the exposition of a portion of the Catechism forms part of every service, the whole Catechism being thus discussed within every four years. In the *Foreign Mission* field the scope for labour has been found which was denied by the restricted nature of the Home

field, and in China, Japan, and India the Church is daily gathering fresh laurels. Notably is this the case in the *Arcot Mission* of South India, where, by the energy and devotion of the *Scudder* family, a model missionary organisation has been created.

(2) The (German) Reformed Church in the United States of North America, though younger than her Dutch sister, is more than twice as powerful, her communicants numbering over 330,000. The "Pilgrim Fathers" of this community were drawn mainly from the Rhine Palatinate in the beginning of the eighteenth century, whence they came in great numbers to the Eastern colonies. Pennsylvania attracted the majority, and there from an early date scattered German congregations existed. But it was not till 1747 that the Church was set on a secure basis, in which year *Michael Schlatter*, with four other ministers, formed the first *Coetus* or Synod of the Church, and placed their organisation under the Classis of Amsterdam. It was a happy step for the Church. Four years later a visit paid by Schlatter to Holland roused such interest that six ministers volunteered for service, and £10,000 was subscribed. England, when appealed to, added £20,000; and less wealthy Scotland, at the request of the General Assembly, subscribed £1140. With this generous aid Schlatter was able to establish schools among the colonists, increase the number of ministers, and generally to secure the future stability of the Church. Separation from the Amsterdam Classis followed in due course, when in 1773 the Church declared her independence. During the nineteenth century very large additions to the membership resulted from the continuous stream of German immigration. Of the Protestant immigrants it is estimated that two-thirds join the Lutheran Church, while the remaining third unite with the Reformed. In caring adequately for these the Church

has found a work which calls for all her energies. Like the Dutch Reformed Church, the German Reformed has departed from the exclusive use of the ancestral language, though by no means to the same extent. German is still a living language in the States wherever German immigrants most abound, and there the old tongue is used by the Church, but in congregations of the second and third generations English is more frequent. Yet with the adoption of the English tongue there has been no abandonment of the German usages. The Heidelberg Catechism remains the standard book of doctrine, forms of service are provided for special occasions, and the five great festivals of the Christian year are observed with the same impressiveness as surrounds them in the Fatherland. The process of Americanisation, however, goes steadily on, and one indication of this was seen in 1920 when the General Assembly of this Church decided to open negotiations for union with the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Whether practical measures will follow, time will show.

III. Total Strength of Presbyterian Churches

(1) *Comparative Strength.*—According to the estimate of Dr. H. K. Carroll, an eminent statistician, there were in 1924 some 46,142,000 members of the Christian Churches in the United States, the figures for the five leading Churches being as follows:—

Roman Catholics	16,103,000
Methodists	8,700,000
Baptists	8,227,000
Presbyterians	2,500,000
Lutherans	2,500,000

Next in order were Disciples of Christ, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians.

When contrasted with a similar tabular statement for Britain, the altered positions of the Churches is very striking. In some measure the reversals may be due to the different proportions in which members of the various Churches in Europe have emigrated. The immense membership of the Roman Catholic Church is admittedly due, at least in part, to this cause. But a truer explanation of the varying growth of the Protestant Churches, notably those of *British* origin, is to be found in their varying ability to establish themselves in a country where to all was offered a fair field and no favour. The Presbyterian Church comes well out of the comparison. Fed by a smaller stream of emigrants than the sister Churches of British origin, and restricted in her growth by her steady insistence on an educated ministry, she yet stands third on the list of Protestant Churches, and is rapidly continuing to advance. It is to be noted that a large section of the Methodist and Baptist Churches consists of negroes, of whom Presbyterianism has comparatively few. But only an imperfect idea of the power of the Church in the States is to be gathered from the number of her members. In the esteem accorded her by the American people, and in the general influence she wields on the national life, she is second to none of the Churches. For this influence, out of all proportion to her numbers, the Church is indebted to the uniform culture of her ministry, the catholicity of her spirit, and the wealth of her members, a considerable portion of whom are drawn from the classes which culture and catholicity most attract. Only the Episcopal Church ranks higher in the average wealth of members; and in the value of Church property she is just barely distanced by the great Methodist Church. But in the catholic spirit which rejoices to help all Christian work, regardless of denominational connection, Presbyterianism is easily first, as is shown by the annual

returns of such undenominational societies as the Bible and Tract Societies of the United States.

(2) *General Distribution of Presbyterianism.*—The distribution of the Church is now wide as the States, and in her extension she has been helped rather than hindered by the existence of her numerous sections. With so vast a field to work upon, the evils of overlapping, which are so well known in Scotland, are here comparatively unknown. Emulation between the different Presbyterian Churches there is, but not rivalry. Of the six greater Churches which have been mentioned, and which include 97 per cent of the Presbyterian population, no two Churches minister to the same section of the people. Geographical or racial distinctions mark off their various fields of labour, a fact which makes for peace in the present time, and which, when the hour for closer union approaches, will make the final fusion more easy of accomplishment.

CHAPTER XI

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN CANADA

CANADA has peculiarly strong claims upon the affection of Presbyterians. Here, more successfully than in any other British colony, has Presbyterianism held its own in the teeth of opposition and discouragement; and here more completely than in any other section of the Presbyterian Church has the dream of Presbyterian Union been realised. Time is marked in the story of the Canadian Church by the unions of the various branches.

1. **Planting of Presbyterianism.**—The *first attempt* to plant Presbyterianism on Canadian soil was made at the close of the sixteenth century, when among the many French colonists who then sought for fortune in the "New France" across the Atlantic were not a few Huguenots who went in search of freedom for their faith. Under the favourable rule of Henry IV. such migration was encouraged, and so long as the traditions of his reign lasted the Huguenot colonists prospered. In their prosperity their religion shared. Traders like Chauvin and De Caen, governors like the De Monts and De la Tours, used their influence zealously for the advance of Protestantism; in some cases too zealously, as when De Caen, the acting governor of Quebec, compelled the Roman Catholic sailors to attend the Huguenot service. But it was not to be through the Huguenots that Canadian Presbyterianism

was to be established. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which in 1685 worked such desolation in the home country, had a like effect upon the colonies. The Huguenot colonists were driven into exile, and Canada was handed over as a spiritual monopoly to the Jesuits. More successful was the *Second Planting* of Presbyterianism, which took place under British auspices at the close of the eighteenth century. The seed on this occasion came from Scotland, and through all the later history of the Canadian Church the Scottish characteristics have been well in evidence. As a consequence of the territorial divisions, which until 1867 split British North America into a number of distinct provinces, each with its separate government and institutions, the story of the Canadian Church is the story of many sections, until we arrive at quite recent years. But in a general survey of the field these sectional churches may be grouped in two divisions: the *Eastern Division*, embracing the churches of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Cape Breton Island; and the *Western Division*, comprising the churches of Upper and Lower Canada, and all the country to the shores of the Pacific.

2. Forming of the Church in the Eastern Provinces.—In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht gave Nova Scotia to Britain, and thereby opened a new field for British colonisation. For a considerable period, however, the response was disappointing, and it was not until 1755, when the incessant plotting and disaffection of the French colonists compelled the British Government to deport some seven thousand of them to the southern colonies, that colonists of British birth began to be attracted. Then, to occupy the lands left vacant, colonists from the older southern colonies, from Scotland, England, Ireland, and the European Continent, arrived in shoals. The further cession, by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, of "Canada with

all its dependencies" widened the field and increased the stream of immigration. In 1764 no fewer than 10,000 settlers arrived from Britain, and of these, Nova Scotia, the most easterly province, absorbed the majority. Among the settlers were many Presbyterians, the supply of whose spiritual wants became a problem to themselves and to the Home Churches. The local Government in 1758 had declared the English Liturgy to be "the fixed form of worship for Nova Scotia," and would do nothing for Presbyterians beyond granting liberty of worship. Under these circumstances outside help became a necessity for a time, and from the older Presbyterian Churches some help arrived. The Church in New Jersey sent the *Rev. James Lyon* in 1764; in Halifax, ten years later, the *Rev. Mr. Fraser*, a Church of Scotland Army chaplain, laboured for a time; but the Churches which in those early days really grappled with the difficulties, and sent substantial and steady aid, were the *Burgher* and *Anti-Burgher Secession Churches* of Scotland. From the *Burgher Synod* came the pioneers, Daniel Cock, David Smith, and Hugh Graham, who in 1786 organised the *Presbytery of Truro*. From the *Anti-Burgher Synod* came Dr. M'Gregor, Duncan Ross, and John Brown, who in 1795 formed the second Presbytery of *Pictou*. Then the *Church of Scotland* added a few ministers to the number, and as in the New World old quarrels died out of mind, all three sections came together, uniting in 1817 to form the *Synod of Nova Scotia*.

3. **The Glasgow Colonial Society.** — Hitherto the Church of Scotland had helped only in a desultory way, although the great majority of the Presbyterian colonists were her own children, but in 1825 she awoke to a fuller sense of her duty. The *Glasgow Colonial Society*, which was then formed, with the patriotic Scot, Lord Dalhousie, as its patron, and Dr. Burns of Paisley as its zealous

secretary, had for its object the "promoting the moral and religious interests of the Scottish settlers in British North America." Right well it did its work. With a limited income, seldom exceeding £500, it succeeded in sending to the colonies forty ministers of the Church of Scotland within the next ten years. In place of being as hitherto a small minority, the Church of Scotland ministers of the Eastern Provinces now found themselves a body of respectable size, and proceeded to form an organisation of their own. In 1833 the *Synod of Nova Scotia, in connection with the Church of Scotland*, accordingly came into existence, with its three presbyteries of Halifax, Pictou, and Prince Edward Island, and rapidly increased in numbers and in power. Two years later the ministers in New Brunswick followed suit, and formed *The Synod of New Brunswick, in connection with the Church of Scotland.* Between the older Synod, which had now lost its Church of Scotland relationship, and these younger growths the best of terms existed. Approaches towards a union were even seriously made, when the troubles of '43 came on, scattering all such hopes for many a year to come.

4. Forming of the Church in the Western Provinces.—Simultaneously with the rise of Presbyterianism in the Eastern Provinces, a like movement was taking place in the Western, but here the proportional share taken by the various Home Churches in the work was considerably different. Ministers of the Church of Scotland were first in the field, though perhaps their priority is more truly to be ascribed to circumstances than to express intention on the Church's part. The fall of Quebec in 1759, and the subsequent close of the war, had enabled the *Rev. George Henry*, a Scots chaplain, to add to his military duties; and in 1765, in a room in the Jesuit College of the city whose capture he had witnessed, he gathered round him the first Presbyterian congregation. In 1786, at the close of the

American Revolutionary War, the *Rev. John Bethune*, chaplain to the 84th Regiment, did similar service at Montreal, where, with the permission of the Récollet Fathers, a Franciscan order, regular Presbyterian services were held in a Roman Catholic church. For this most unusual kindness the good Franciscans would take no money payment, but it is recorded that they received from the "Society of Presbyterians" a box of candles and two hogsheads of Spanish wine, and "were quite thankful for the same." To Mr. Bethune in 1790 succeeded another Church of Scotland minister, the *Rev. John Young*, under whose ministry was built St. Gabriel Street Church, the oldest Protestant Church in the Western Provinces. But for some time no systematic effort was made by any branch of Presbyterianism to supply the needs of the Protestants, whose numbers in Upper Canada (or Ontario) were now rapidly increasing. A few Presbyterian ministers who strayed north from the Secession Church in the States and from the Dutch and German Reformed Churches did good work, but it was not until to these were added some additional ministers from the Secession Churches in Scotland, that it was thought time to form a Presbytery. This was done in 1818, when the *Presbytery of the Canadas* took shape, to be reconstituted in 1826, as the *United Presbytery of Upper Canada.* By that time, however, the Glasgow Colonial Society had been born, and the Western Provinces now received a larger share of its attention. Additional ministers of the Church of Scotland arrived in increasing numbers, so that in 1831 there was formed the *Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada* (Church of Scotland) with 4 presbyteries and 19 ministers. Nine years later, in 1840, the two Presbyterian organisations united, by which time the Church of Scotland Synod had increased to 60 ministers, and the older but smaller body to 17. "By this step," wrote the Moderator of the

Church of Scotland Synod to the Home Church, "we have brought within our pale 17 ministers, exercising a pastoral supervision over flocks that have been collectively estimated at 10,000, all professing adherence to our standards of faith and worship." It was a union partly of love and partly of policy. Scottish Presbyterianism was called upon to maintain its rights, in the face of an aggrandising English Episcopacy; and for this a solid front was most desirable.

5. Presbytery versus Episcopacy.—In almost every British colony where representatives of the two National Churches have met this battle has had to be fought. English Churchmen, whose only acquaintance with Presbyterianism has as a rule been derived from the Nonconforming Presbyterianism of England, have been surprised when, in the British colonies, Scottish Churchmen have asserted their position as members of one of the National Churches of Britain, and claimed equal rights with their English brethren. In the end the justice of the Scottish claim has always had to be admitted, and, at least partially, satisfied, but in the early colonial days the fight for recognition was a hard one. In the Western Canadian Provinces it was fought on two issues. (1) *The Clergy Reserves.* By an Act of 1791, the seventh part of the unceded lands in Upper and Lower Canada was reserved "for the maintenance and support of a Protestant clergy." Three millions of acres were thus set aside, to which the English Churchmen considered they had an exclusive claim. Scottish Churchmen, who thought they were equally "Protestant clergy," failed to see the fairness of the English contention, and in 1817 an agitation on the subject began, which raged for over twenty years. The opinion of the home legal authorities was given in favour of the Church of Scotland's claim, but, through the unwillingness of English Church officials, no steps were taken to give effect to the decision. Public opinion, however,

was strongly on the Scottish side, and ultimately bore down the opposition. In 1840, two months after the Presbyterians had all ranged themselves under the banner of the Church of Scotland, the exclusive claims of the English Church were set aside, the Reserve Lands ordered to be sold, and of the proceeds two-thirds to be allotted to the Church of England, and one-third to the Synod in connection with the Church of Scotland. The division was manifestly unfair, seeing that the Presbyterians outnumbered the Episcopalians, but the principle had been admitted. (2) *Queen's College, Kingston*, which for many years has held a prominent position in Canadian education, was the outcome of a similar contest. The growth of the Presbyterian Church had made it necessary to provide for the education and training of ministers, and as the readiest means of accomplishing this, an application was made to Government, in 1832, to endow additional chairs in connection with King's College, Toronto, a Government institution. But here Episcopal opposition was too strong, and King's College remained an English Church monopoly. Nothing daunted, the Presbyterians set themselves to supply the need without Government assistance, and so great was the enthusiasm evoked, that in 1841 Queen's College, Kingston, was opened and empowered by royal charter to confer degrees.

6. Effects of '43 on East and West.—For British Presbyterianism, whether of the Home or Colonial Churches, the Disruption of 1843 was, without doubt, the most momentous event that had happened since 1690. Not in Scotland alone, but also, and to quite as great an extent, in the colonies did it bring grievous heartburnings, unchristian strife, and hurtful division. The national tie which binds Scotsmen together was never more touchingly shown—and, be it said, never more unfortunately—than when one after another of the young Scottish

Churches which were springing up across the seas took up the home quarrels, and making them their own, fought them out to the bitter end. Private patronage they knew not, no invidious line with them separated "chapel" from "parish" ministers, but they were children of the Scottish Church, and had to vindicate their descent. In Canada the wordy war was fought with a keenness equalling that in Scotland, and, unfortunately for hopes of a peaceful ending, deputies arrived from the seceding party at home to encourage the division. The more moderate section of the Canadian ministers, of whom Dr. Cook of Quebec was the leader, would fain have observed a strict neutrality regarding a Scottish quarrel which did not concern them, but nothing would satisfy the party who sympathised with the Free Church save "to lift up a full and clear testimony for the truth." This meant an explicit severing of all connection with the Church of Scotland, and an equally explicit alliance with the Scottish Free Church. Between views so opposite no compromise was possible, and in 1844 the inevitable result came in the rending in twain of the three Church of Scotland Synods of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Western Provinces (Canada). Out of 116 ministers, 68 remained in connection with the Church of Scotland, 48 adopting the cause of the Free Church; but in the different Synods the proportions varied much, as the following table shows:—

	Church of Scotland.	Free Church.
Synod of Nova Scotia . . .	4	19
Synod of New Brunswick . .	10	3
Synod of Presb. Church in Canada	54	26
	68	48

In Nova Scotia the Church of Scotland had been practically wiped out, in New Brunswick left with little

damage, and in the Western Provinces weakened by one-third. Disruption did not immediately add to the peace of the Churches, as Dr. Norman Macleod found when in 1845 he visited Canada. Writing home he said, "The angry spirit of Churchism, which has disturbed every fireside in Scotland, thunders at the door of every shanty in the backwoods." But the air was cleared by the storm, and the divided Churches settled down to a period of vigorous labour.

7. Drawing together.—In 1845, after the war was over, there were seven leading divisions of Presbyterianism in British North America—four in the Eastern Provinces and three in the Western. These were :—

Eastern Provinces

The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia (Old Secession Church).
The Synod of Nova Scotia, adhering to Westminster Standards (Free Church).
The Synod of New Brunswick, in connection with Church of Scotland.
The Synod of New Brunswick, adhering to Westminster Standards.

Western Provinces

The Synod of Presbyterian Church of Canada, in connection with Church of Scotland.
The Synod of Free Presbyterian Church of Canada.
The Missionary Synod of Canada, in connection with Scottish Associate Synod.

For fifteen years the separate existence continued, during which period great advances were made, notably in the case of the Churches allied with the Scottish Free Church, from which came generous assistance both in men and money. Nor was the Church of Scotland backward, though in these days her own urgent need of ministers prevented her helping so much as prior to '43.

But more gratifying even than the development of the separate Synods was the softening of their feelings towards one another. In their practice they were all at one; where they differed was in theory, and that on a point with which none was immediately concerned—the connection of Church and State. As the memories of '43 faded away, the hurtfulness of continued division was more openly admitted, and in 1860 there began in consequence the *succession of Unions* which has made the Canadian Church unique amongst her Presbyterian sisters. In that year the Free Church Synod of Nova Scotia (35 ministers) united with the old Secession Synod (42 ministers) and formed the *Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces.* In 1861 this example was followed by the Churches in the Western Provinces, when the United Presbyterian Church (59 ministers) joined with the Free Presbyterian Church of Canada (129 ministers) to form the *Canada Presbyterian Church.* In 1866 the Nova Scotia union was still further enlarged by the addition of the (Free Church) Presbyterian Church of New Brunswick. Two years later (1868) the Eastern branches of the Church of Scotland caught the happy infection, and the Synod of New Brunswick joining with the Synod of Nova Scotia (which had been reborn in 1854), there resulted the (Church of Scotland) *Synod of the Maritime Provinces.* As the outcome of all these unions there were now four compact Presbyterian Churches, two in the East and two in the West, one in each division being in connection with the Church of Scotland, while the other represented the combined forces of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches. Finally, in 1875, the longed-for goal was reached, when, with the exception of 21 ministers, 19 of whom belonged to the Church of Scotland, all four Churches united to form *The Presbyterian Church in Canada.* On the 15th June 1875 the

supreme courts of the four Churches met in the great Victoria Hall in Montreal, and, after the Moderator of each had signed the articles of union, the first *General Assembly* of the Presbyterian Church in Canada was constituted, with the venerable Dr. Cook of Quebec as Moderator.

8. **Respective Contributions.**—The uniting Churches did not come empty-handed. Each added something to the common store, which materially helped to increase the efficiency of the union. From the **Church of Scotland** side came 150 *ministers* with their charges; *Queen's College*, Kingston, which had developed into a flourishing university, with the four faculties of Arts, Medicine, Law, and Theology, and was possessed of an Endowment Fund of 87,000 dollars; *Morrin College*, Quebec, which had been founded in 1860 by Dr. Joseph Morrin at a cost of 50,000 dollars, for the education in Arts and Divinity of youths aspiring to the ministry of the Church of Scotland; and a *Temporalities Fund* of 463,000 dollars, yielding an annual revenue of 32,000 dollars for the support of the ministry. This last valuable contribution was the result of the commutation in 1854 of the life interests of the Scottish clergy in the Clergy Reserves. From the side of the **Free and Secession Churches** came 473 *ministers* with their charges; *Knox Theological College*, Toronto, which had been founded in 1844 by the Free Church party to take the place of Queen's College, and, after a remarkably successful career, had been transferred in 1875 to the present stately buildings at a cost of 120,000 dollars; *Montreal Theological College*, with its endowment fund of 25,000 dollars; and oldest of all, *Halifax Theological College*, of which the beginnings had been made in 1820 by the original Synod of Nova Scotia. Seldom, if ever, has a Church of the size of the United Canadian Church been better equipped for work, and

never has an equipment been better utilised. Rejoicing in having blotted out all past differences, she took up with enthusiasm the various schemes of her different sections, and welding them into a unity, has for the past fifty years prosecuted them with great success. All the customary activities of a living Church are hers, her foreign mission work in the South Seas, Formosa, Trinidad, China, and Central India being notably successful; but by geographical conditions she has found herself called to two special and distinctive works. These are her work among the French Canadian Roman Catholics, and her care for the settlers and the Indian tribes in the great North-West.

9. Work among the French Roman Catholics. — Out of the 5,000,000 inhabitants of Canada, 2,200,000 are Roman Catholics. Of these the great majority are massed in the province of Quebec, where the Roman Catholic Church enjoys privileges such as are granted under no other Protestant government. They are the heritage of the Treaty of Paris, and of an Act of the Imperial Parliament passed subsequently, and known as the Quebec Act. These, by guaranteeing to the Roman Church the continuance of the privileges and property she then possessed, have given her the prestige and emoluments of an Established Church. Tithes and ecclesiastical dues to the amount of 10,000,000 dollars are annually levied and employed in maintaining an ecclesiastical organisation of 23 bishops and 2352 priests. Under such circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the Pope should have described Quebec as "the metropolis of the Roman Catholic religion in America." It is in truth the Rome of the Western world. To the State the existence of so large a constituency at the beck of the Roman see is a continual anxiety, but to the Protestant Churches of the country, which desire to maintain and advance the great

truths of Protestantism, it constitutes an abiding summons to evangelise. The Presbyterian Church has not been slow in responding. Prior to the union of 1875, evangelistic efforts were engaged in by the various branches of Presbyterianism, and with considerable success, but on the accomplishment of the union more systematic, and also more successful, endeavours have been made. In this field the leading pioneer was "Father" Chiniquy, originally a devoted Roman Catholic priest, but after 1862 an earnest Protestant minister. Under his inspiration and fearless advocacy, and in the face of bitter opposition, the work of evangelisation very greatly extended: Protestant schools for French Canadians have been established, Protestant churches built, and Protestant congregations gathered together. As a rule no missions are less productive at the present day than Protestant Missions to Roman Catholics, but those of Canada present an exception. A Canadian commissioner at the Pan-Presbyterian Congress of 1892 reported: "Fifty years ago there was not a Protestant French Canadian known on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Now in the province of Quebec there are at least twelve thousand, and twenty thousand have made their homes in the Republic to the south." To-day the numbers have greatly grown.

10. Work in the North-West Territory.—Until about 1850 two-thirds of the great Canadian Dominion were uninhabited and unknown, except to wandering Indian tribes and the adventurous hunters of the Hudson Bay Company. In 1812, by the kind help of the Earl of Selkirk, a colony of Sutherlandshire highlanders had been planted on the banks of the Red River, south of Lake Winnipeg, and a "godly elder," Mr. James Sutherland, sent to minister to them, but that was the farthest outpost. Of the enormous fertile belt of prairie land stretching from Winnipeg to the Rocky

Mountains, and containing 200,000,000 acres of fertile soil, the emigrant world was ignorant. That ignorance has long passed away, and with the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 the whole of the Great Western Territory has been laid at the feet of all who will. In response a steady annual stream of twenty to thirty thousand immigrants has flowed westward, and has caused Canadian civilisation to extend in an unusual manner. "Settlement has not been, as in other countries, a gradual extension from sea coast or river bank, or from a few great centres. It has been *simultaneous* all over the country. Every one of the 133 stations that mark the 2000 miles of railway has been a distributing point." A new nation has been born in a few decades, and by its birth has presented a peculiar problem to the Canadian Churches. Since 1900 Canada's population has doubled through immigration alone. Gradual extension of the Church's work is insufficient for the wants of the widely scattered people. What is required is an equally simultaneous supply of Christian ordinances over the whole field, and in endeavouring to supply the need, the Presbyterian Church, to which one-third of the settlers belong, has done noble service. At *Winnipeg*, when the rush began, she had already a literary college, and by adding a theological department she at once arranged for the training of the men required. At the head of the whole North-West work was placed *Dr. Robertson* of Winnipeg, who, from 1881 to his death in 1902, strove gloriously to make provision keep pace with the growth of the settlement. Help from the Eastern Provinces came liberally, as also from the older Churches of Scotland and Ireland, and the result was seen in a rapidly growing Presbyterian Church in the great North-West. Within eight years the communicants rose from 1153 to 14,000, "preaching points" from 116 to 667, ministers from 28 to 141, and

the Christian liberality of the territory from 15,000 to 203,000 dollars. When Dr. Robertson died the one Presbytery had grown to eighteen, and the "preaching points" numbered 1130. By 1921 the Presbyteries in the area had become 38. Said Lord Grey, when Governor-General of Canada, of this noble Presbyterian minister,—"A great man, a man who saved the West of Canada from becoming a Wild West."

11. Church Union.—The excessive strain placed on all the Canadian Churches, by their efforts to supply religious ordinances sufficient for the vast and widely scattered influx of immigrants, has made Church Union from 1890 onwards a frequent aspiration. In that year a comprehensive Union of Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists was mooted, but the issue of the Lambeth Quadrilateral with its insistence on the Historic Episcopate gave this proposal its *quietus*. Something less ambitious was clearly all that could be hoped for. In 1893 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church took the definite step of appointing a Union Committee, and declared itself ready to confer with any Protestant Church that should so desire. In 1894 the Methodist Church proposed that a Federal Church Court should be set up, but the proposal did not find acceptance; and it was not until 1902 that the long process began which was to lead to practical results. In that year the Methodists formally approached the Presbyterians, and on the Assembly's declaring Union to be "desirable and practicable" negotiations began. Soon the much smaller Congregational Church also joined in the negotiations. In 1908 a definite scheme was placed before the Assembly, and Canadian Presbyterians found themselves faced with Church Union as a practical issue.

It was inevitable that there should be a cleavage of opinion. Besides the familiar differences between the

conservative and liberal elements which every large Church presents, the peculiar conditions of Canada supplied a sharper ground of serious division. In the Eastern Provinces Presbyterianism had now behind it a long history and much-prized traditions. Settled and prosperous congregations and well-ordered presbyteries gave a stability to the Church and her ways not unlike that prevailing in Scotland itself. In the far-stretching Western Provinces things were entirely different. There Religion, and not merely Presbyterianism, was at stake. Men's thoughts dwelt little on the beloved accidentals of the Presbyterian Church, but a great deal on the essentials of a fighting and conquering Church of Christ. Union between the two great forces of Presbyterianism and Methodism—each representing a community in Canada over one million strong, and each with a vigorous Church, but neither of them strong enough to face alone the vast responsibilities of the West—seemed to very many a Christian duty. In the East, on the other hand, with its strong traditional loyalties, there was the deep conviction that Presbyterian essentials were too precious for the permanent well-being of the Church, to permit of their security being endangered by organic union with a Church of other origin, other ways, and other outlook. To guard the Presbyterian deposit, for the sake of future generations, seemed to many in the East equally a Christian duty. Federation they would welcome, but Union they could not accept, so from high motives on either side the split extended.

In 1910 organised opposition to the Union proposals took shape, and for fourteen years (with the exception of a four-years' agreed truce, 1917–1921) the struggle between Unionists and Anti-Unionists was waged with growing heat and determination. Successive Assemblies showed by their votes that the Unionists were in a large majority, but in the civil courts, and in the Canadian Parliament,

the legislation which was necessary to Union was vigorously contested. In 1924 the climax came. In the General Assembly the vote for Union was 442 against 92; and on 19th July the Canadian Parliament by a vote of 110 against 58 passed the Church Union Bill. 10th June 1925 has been fixed as the date of the consummation of the Union. On that day the *Presbyterian Church in Canada*, after fifty years of undivided and ever-increasing life, will be legally incorporated with the former Methodist and Congregational Churches of Canada (whose old names and separate existence will also terminate), and will take her place as an organic part of *The United Church of Canada*, which will be one of the strongest Churches in North America, and in Canada itself the leading Church of Protestantism. The Church of Rome, strong through the old French-Canadian population, includes 38 per cent of Canada's people; next in order will come the "United Church of Canada."

12. The Cost of Union. —Developments in Canada subsequent to the passing of the Act have made plain that the Union is not to be achieved without heavy cost to Presbyterianism.

By the Act of Parliament which sanctioned the Union, individual congregations were given the right within a limited period to ballot on the question of their inclusion or separation. A majority vote was to decide, the property of each congregation going with the majority; and to all congregations electing to remain outside the Union there was to be given an "equitable share" of the general endowments and properties of the old undivided Church. At the time when this is written the voting is in progress, and gives signs of a far more serious division of opinion in the Church than had been indicated by the voting in the General Assembly. The voting by "congregations" indicates a decided majority in favour of

Union; but tested by the number of individual voters the Union and Anti-Union sections are of approximately equal strength. To all appearance, Union is to be attained only at the cost of a disruption of the Presbyterian Church.

Accepting the inevitable, the powerful section opposed to Union, who are particularly strong in the Eastern Provinces, have organised themselves afresh, and as the continuing *Presbyterian Church in Canada* are resolutely facing, on the old lines, the many difficult duties which will now devolve upon them, both at Home and Abroad.

13. A new Departure.—For Canada the full bearings of this striking ecclesiastical development will not appear till some years have passed; but for Presbyterianism as a whole the experiment now begun possesses uncommon interest, and may prove to have a lasting significance. Hence the somewhat full narrative given here.

So far as Presbyterianism is concerned this is a new thing in Church Unions. It is a Union of two great denominations hitherto entirely distinct. It is true that both in America and in England on previous occasions experiments in Union with Congregationalism have been made by Presbyterian Churches, but they had no permanent endurance. The conciliar basis of Presbyterianism would not blend with the independency of Congregationalism, nor could lasting and satisfying common ground in doctrine be found. But in Canada the Union now legalised, though it includes the small Congregational Church, is in the main between two powerful Churches, Presbyterian and Methodist, which are both of the conciliar type in their system of government, and in their hold on the fundamentals of evangelical Christianity are equally tenacious. Union on the wider scale could hardly be tried under more favourable conditions.

By the Union each Church has of necessity surrendered some features formerly familiar, but the Presbyterian section are satisfied that they have given up nothing that is essential to Presbyterianism. Of the four leading marks of a Presbyterian Church,—(1) the parity of the ministers; (2) the conciliar system of government; (3) ordination by the "laying on of the hands of the Presbytery"; and (4) the spiritual status and functions of the eldership,—the first and second are, in the Basis of Union, fully and specifically secured. The third and fourth are somewhat weakened by the admixture of ideals and practices familiar in Methodism and Congregationalism; yet the Presbyterian positions concerning the Ordination rite, and the status of the Elder, though not asserted are not discountenanced. They are no longer obligatory in the United Church, but they may in all loyalty be maintained by those within the Church whose preference is for them. That they will be maintained by the present generation of Presbyterians is certain, and perhaps also by their successors. But prophecy in these days of change is a vain thing. Meantime Canadian developments will be watched with anxious interest by Presbyterians throughout the world, for the way in which this great departure in Church Union works out will be of far-reaching importance.

CHAPTER XII

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE

Australia—New Zealand—South Africa

In their wanderings over the world in search of fortune, the children of the Presbyterian Churches have travelled far south of the equator, and settled in three of the southern lands—Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. To these abiding-places they have been followed by their Church, which has taken root and grown with the growth of the colonies.

I. Australia

Australia, the great island-continent of the South, which in size is only a little less than the whole of Europe, is divided into six distinct States, each of which in government and institutions is largely independent of the others. Upon the Australian Churches, Presbyterian as well as others, this political separation has imposed the necessity of a similar separation in ecclesiastical affairs, and in consequence the Presbyterian Church in Australia has no fewer than six subdivisions. Of these, however, two have an acknowledged pre-eminence, the Churches of New South Wales and Victoria, inasmuch as they possess between them four-fifths of the total number of communicants.

Their history, which extends over half a century, falls naturally into three sections—(1) their origin; (2) their division after '43; and (3) their reunion and subsequent progress.

A. *The Presbyterian Church of New South Wales*

1. Planting of the Church.—New South Wales is the mother colony of Australia. It was here, at Botany Bay, to the south of the modern city of Sydney, that the first colonists landed in 1788. They were a shipload of convicts, and for thirty years and more the colony continued to be purely a penal settlement, receiving its additions from the convict class. But with the arrival of Sir Thomas Brisbane as governor in 1821 a new era began. Colonists of unstained reputation and industrious habits were then induced to try their fortunes in the new country, and soon entirely changed the character of the settlement. Among the colonists were many Scottish Presbyterians, who in 1809 built themselves a humble church, "Ebenezer"; but no Presbyterian minister arrived to minister to their needs until 1823, when, in response to the invitation of Sir Thomas Brisbane (himself an elder of the Scottish Church), there came out from the Presbytery of Irvine the *Rev. John Dunmore Lang*, the founder of Australian Presbyterianism. Dr. Lang was a born pioneer, a man of marvellously varied powers and indomitable energy, of which he soon gave evidence. Two years' residence and travel in the colony gave him a thorough grasp of the situation. Teachers and ministers were seen to be urgently needed, but the usual method of appealing to the Home Church by letter was too tardy for Dr. Lang. Proceeding home in person, he brought out in 1826 a supply of teachers for the instruction of the young, and returning shortly afterwards, came back with five ministers,

with whose help he formed the *Presbytery of New South Wales.* For these new arrivals he then claimed the same endowments as the Government was in the habit of giving to the ministers of the Church of England, and on Government demurring, the aid of the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland was invoked, with the desired result, —Scottish Presbytery and English Episcopacy recognised as equal in the eye of the State. A fourth visit to Scotland by this indefatigable pioneer, in 1836, resulted in nineteen additional ministers being sent out. But by this time, unfortunately for the welfare of the Church, Dr. Lang's success and somewhat masterful methods had aroused dissatisfaction in the minds of his co-presbyters. To check what they considered a dangerous dictatorship, they insisted on a strict adherence to the methods of procedure of the Church of Scotland, a course which Dr. Lang, with considerable reason, held to be cramping the growth of the Church in a young colony. Neither party would make concessions, and in 1838, followed by the majority of the newly-arrived ministers, this founder of the Church severed his connection with the Presbytery, to form the *Synod of New South Wales.* It was a most regrettable division, but fortunately, through the growing reasonableness of the Presbytery and the mediating offices of the Church at home, it came to an end in 1840, when the *Synod of Australia* resulted from the union. Upon Dr. Lang, however, the trammels of regular procedure again grew irksome, and having in the meantime become dissatisfied with the prevalent system of concurrent endowment by the State of all denominations, regardless of their several teaching, he sought freedom by separation, and in 1842 relinquished his connection with both Church and State.

2. **Effects of '43.**—At the meeting of the Synod in 1844, communications were received from the Church

of Scotland and the Free Church, each requesting the support of the Synod of Australia, and the younger daughter Church, just struggling into life, found herself called to consider her attitude towards the great Scottish ecclesiastical schism. Practically she was independent of both the Scottish Churches. Her own recent experience of the evils of disunion made her keenly desirous of avoiding any further division, and, in the resolutions adopted, neutrality regarding the quarrel of the Home Churches was studiously maintained. The spiritual Headship of Christ and the independence of the Australian Presbyterian Church were emphasised, but to both the contending Churches the hand of fellowship was extended. A wise and temperate policy it was, but passions were running too high at home for it to be favourably received. To the Church of Scotland the declaration of independence seemed a mark of disloyalty, while in the Assembly of the Free Church the resolutions were ridiculed by Dr. Candlish as being of the "milk and water" order—a phrase which rankled in the Australian mind for long. The dependence of the Australian Church on the Home Churches for her ministers made these Churches masters of the situation, and accordingly, with great reluctance, she found herself compelled to take sides. In 1846 the division came. Of 22 ministers, 16 remained in the Synod, while 6 went out: three to form the *Synod of East Australia* (Free Church); one, the Rev. James Forbes, to found the *Free Presbyterian Church of Australia Felix*; and another, the Rev. W. Hamilton, to begin what ultimately became the *Mortlake Presbytery* of the Victorian Church.

3. Reunion.—Those were evil days for the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales. Dr. Lang's secession and subsequent zealous fostering of a voluntary Church, followed by the sad division of 1846, had brought into the field three small rival Churches, and when in 1851 the

colony of Victoria was separated from New South Wales, the three Church fragments were still further weakened by the disjunction of their Victoria members. But their very weakness proved a gain : so forcibly did it teach the need of union, that in 1865, after ten years of negotiations, the three became one, and gave the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales the strength which comes from unity.

4. Later Progress.—For a number of years after the union the growth of the Church was by no means proportionate to the increase in the colony's population. Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining sufficient ministers from home, and that at a time when the development of the colony was causing a wide scattering of the Presbyterian community. Fifty thousand Presbyterians were dispersed over an area five times the size of Great Britain, and to meet the necessity thus created for a large increase in the ministerial staff the Church in sixteen years (1866–81) was only able to add thirteen new charges. But after 1881 the tide turned. A vigorous Extension Movement then begun by the Rev. J. M. Ross soon doubled the strength of the Church, whose subsequent growth, though not so striking, has been steady. Nor are the Scottish Churches any longer the chief sources of her ministerial supply, although she still gladly welcomes suitable ministers from the old country ; but in the well-equipped *St. Andrew's Presbyterian College*, which is affiliated with the University of Sydney, she has made good provision for training her own sons. It has been a hard fight for existence, but in the fight the needs of others have not been forgotten, as is shown by the earnest missionary efforts which the Church carries on among the Chinese immigrants, the Aborigines, the South Sea Islanders, and in India.

B. *The Presbyterian Church of Victoria*

1. Origin.—The Church of Victoria, which is now by far the most powerful of the Presbyterian Churches of Australia, originated as an outpost of the Church of New South Wales. Settlers from the mother colony had migrated south to Port Philip, the early Melbourne, in 1834, and as their numbers increased, the Presbyterians amongst them bethought them of their lack of religious ordinances, and applied to the Presbytery of New South Wales to supply them with a minister. But ere their request could be granted help came from another source. The *Rev. James Clow*, a retired East Indian chaplain of the Church of Scotland, hearing of the attractions of Australia as a residence, came from Bombay in 1837, and settling in the rising township of Melbourne, began to hold services for the Presbyterians. It was a work of love which was much appreciated by his countrymen, and when, in the beginning of the following year, the minister who had been applied for came from New South Wales, he found a congregation ready to his hand. The new arrival was the *Rev. James Forbes*, a licentiate of the Presbytery of Garioch, in Aberdeenshire, and an earnest worker. Four others soon followed, leading to the erection in 1842 of the *Presbytery of Melbourne*, under the Synod of New South Wales.

2. Effects of '43.—Of the ministers who cast in their lot with the Free Church, at the meeting of the Synod of New South Wales in 1846, Mr. Forbes was one; and accordingly, on his return to Melbourne, he immediately vacated his pastorate of the Scots Church, voluntarily surrendering his allowance from the State, and set himself to organise the *Free Presbyterian Church of Australia Felix*. Many of his congregation rallied round him,

building for him John Knox Church, and generously supporting him till his death in 1851. In the Scots Church his place was taken by the *Rev. Irvine Hetherington*, an able churchman, who did much to influence the later ecclesiastical developments. With the rapid growth of the colony (from a population of 177 in 1836 to 77,000 in 1851), more ministers were required, and through the good offices of the three Home Churches, notably the Free Church and United Presbyterian, these were supplied; so that in 1851, when the colony began an independent career, there were three Presbyterian organisations in existence.

3. Union.—The year 1851 was an eventful one for Victoria. Gold was discovered at Ballarat, and at once the "gold fever" began to rage. From the adjacent colonies, from Britain, from America, and elsewhere immigrants arrived in thousands, all thirsting for gold. In three years the population had risen from 77,000 to 236,000, and still the stream flowed on. To the colony the unprecedented growth brought prosperity; to the Presbyterian Churches it brought wisdom. In the face of such a vast population, the sin as well as the folly of three Presbyterian Churches forming rival congregations in a few towns, and thereby lessening the strength available for the extending field, grew so evident that negotiations for union were commenced. Weary these negotiations were, seven years having to pass away before they were completed; but at last, in 1859, the Synods surrendered their independent existence, and the *First General Assembly* of the Victorian Church was constituted, under the moderatorship of the venerable James Clow. A few Free Church ministers held aloof for a time, as did also some of the United Presbyterians, but the wise counsels of the Free Church at home in the one case, and the total abolition of State aid in 1870 in the other, did away with all

scruples, and permitted of complete unity being attained. In her constitution the united Church is modelled on the old Scottish lines, but with two peculiarities. As befits a Church of moderate size, the Assembly is not a representative body, but a gathering of all the Presbyteries; and Synods are wanting. "Let there be no Synods," said Mr. Hetherington; "I am sick of the name. I have witnessed six disruptions, and each fragment, however diminutive, has called itself a Synod. Now that we have happily got together in one compact Church, let us assume the higher designation of the General Assembly."

4. Subsequent Progress.—The union has been attended with remarkable progress in almost every department of the Church's life. The old wooden, barn-like buildings formerly used for divine service have given place in all the large towns to stately churches, the Scots Church in Melbourne especially being a model of ecclesiastical architecture. A great Presbyterian institution, the *Ormond College*, named after the chief benefactor, whose gifts amounted to £85,000, has been established for the higher education of the youth, and affiliated with the University of Melbourne, while in one wing of the college is located the *Theological Hall*, whose endowment amounts to £32,000. Home Mission work and Missions to the heathen Aborigines, Chinese immigrants, and South Sea Islanders have received steady attention, and with good results, most notable being the apostolic work of the Church's famous missionary, *Dr. Paton*. In numbers the Presbyterian Church ranks next to the Anglican Church, but "in character, intelligence, and public influence" her sons claim that she is surpassed by none.

C. *Smaller Presbyterian Churches*

The remaining fifth of the Presbyterian Church membership in Australia is distributed among the young Churches of the four other States—Queensland, West Australia, South Australia, and Tasmania. With these Churches it is still the day of small things and hard striving, but also of progress and cheery hopefulness. In *Queensland* the Presbyterian Church has for some time possessed her own Emmanuel theological college at Brisbane. In *West Australia* the increasing immigration which has marked the beginning of this century, and particularly the feature of "group settlements" which has characterised it,—whereby bodies of settlers from one Church area in Britain are established in one neighbourhood in the State,—has devolved imperative responsibilities on the Presbyterian Church. In *South Australia* Presbyterian tardiness in the early days has made it difficult for the Church in later days to make up the lee-way, but it is slowly being done. One noteworthy feature is the co-operation of the four leading non-Anglican Churches in maintaining at Adelaide a common theological college. *Tasmania* from the first has been an English rather than a Scottish colony, and the Presbyterian Church, with 32 congregations and 1500 members, while preserving a semi-independent position, has linked herself closely with the strong Church of Victoria, which is the Presbyterian bulwark in Australia.

D. *The Presbyterian Church of Australia*

1. Presbyterian Union.—Geographical distances, lack of communications, and varying social conditions for long compelled these six Presbyterian Churches in Australia

to live largely separate lives, but the desirableness of some tangible link between them was never forgotten; and with changing circumstances it became possible to forge it.

In 1886 a *Federal Union of the Presbyterian Churches of Australia and Tasmania* was formed, with a Federal Assembly meeting periodically for the discussion of common affairs. In 1900 the Union of the various colonies to form the Commonwealth of Australia with its six States pointed the way to a similar union of the Churches, and in 1901 the Federal Union became an organic union by the formation of *The Presbyterian Church of Australia*, with as her supreme court a General Assembly which meets every second year, at Melbourne and Sydney alternately. Independence in all local matters of Church life remained with the Church of each separate State, but upon the Commonwealth General Assembly devolved important functions in unifying and furthering the Presbyterian life of Australia. Great gain has followed the unification. The strong have come to the help of the weak, all have combined in developing the Home Mission which is ever a primary duty in a new country, a common standard of ministerial training has been secured for all the six Churches, and on public questions Australian Presbyterianism is now able to speak with one voice.

2. Wider Union Proposals.—The existence of the unified Church has been of particular service in enabling the Presbyterianism of Australia to deal as one whole with questions of Union with other denominations. Since the Great War, in Australia as in Canada, proposals for union between Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists have been the dominating Church interest; but the course of events in the two Dominions presents a singular contrast. In 1918 the Commonwealth Assembly had before it a Scheme of Union drawn up by a Committee

representative of the three Churches concerned, which followed very closely the lines of the Canadian Basis of Union. Provisionally approving, the Assembly sent the proposals down to the different State Assemblies with instructions that if there approved by a majority, they should be submitted to sessions and congregations. In every State Assembly a majority did approve, and the *referendum* to the people took place. The result, as reported to the next Commonwealth Assembly which met in 1920, showed a vote of 60 per cent in favour of Union and 40 per cent against. In all, 73,471 members of the Church had voted, approximately 90 per cent of the whole membership. In the important Church of Victoria, however, which includes half the Presbyterians of Australia, the vote was equally divided. Clearly Union was not a practical possibility, at least at the time. The Assembly decided on a scheme of Federation, with increasingly close local co-operation, while it also resolved that an amended Basis of Union should be framed by the Committee of the conferring Churches for further consideration. In 1922, when the Assembly next met, this revised Basis was duly submitted, and was ordered to be sent down to the lower courts of all the State Churches and to the people. In 1923 the vote was taken in the six Churches. The Church of New South Wales by a majority of 25 per cent approved; Queensland gave tepid acquiescence; the other Churches disapproved, the Victorian Assembly by a majority of 148 to 140 adopting a motion by Professor Rentoul, the protagonist of the opponents of Union, which may be held to express generally the present dominant mind of Australian Presbyterianism on this contentious subject: "That the conditions are not fitting, and the Basis of Doctrine and Polity is impossible, for the corporate embodiment of three ecclesiastical organisations, so different from each

other in temperament, historic memories, and modes of Church government."

II. The Presbyterian Church in New Zealand

Partly through geographical conditions and partly through circumstances connected with the arrival of the early colonists, Presbyterianism in New Zealand was long represented by two Churches—the *Presbyterian Church of New Zealand*, extending over the North Island and the northern half of the South Island; and the *Presbyterian Church of Otago and Southland*, confined to the southern half of the South Island.

1. **The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand**, the older, and territorially as well as ministerially the larger, but numerically the smaller, owed her beginning to the Church of Scotland. In 1840, when the colony of New Zealand was established by royal charter, 2000 emigrants sailed for the New Britain, and landed at Port Nicholson, the south point of North Island. Amongst them were many Scots, with whom had gone as spiritual leader the *Rev. Mr. M'Farlane* of Martyrs' Church, Paisley. The majority settled at Wellington, and there Mr. M'Farlane began his work, making it a centre for diligent itineration among the many smaller settlements up and down the coast, and in this manner preparing the way for the ministers who followed. Of these the majority were at first from the Church of Scotland, which for very many years continued to extend her helping hand to this part of the field. Soon, however, the other Scottish Churches and the Irish Church lent their assistance, so that in 1856 it was possible to form at *Auckland* the first *Presbytery* of the Church. Within the next six years other five were added, and some years later yet other two. To the Church's development the chief hindrance from the very

beginning lay in the very scattered nature of her field. Presbyterians were not massed together in a compact body, as was the case in Otago, but were dispersed in a number of small groups throughout the island, too small to support a permanent minister, and often too little known to secure a visit from an itinerating one. To grapple with the difficulty, and if possible prevent her children from drifting away, the Church in 1877 resolved upon a step then as novel as it was desirable, and appointed a prominent minister as Home Mission Agent, to visit the various districts, organise congregations in the outlying localities, and generally arrange for the welfare of the scattered Presbyterians. So thoroughly did the Home Churches of Scotland and Ireland approve of the plan, that they each gave an annual grant of £150 towards the Agent's salary, and, fortunately for the scheme's success, an admirable agent was found in the *Rev. David Bruce* of St. Andrews, Auckland. Through his exertions the Home Mission work, which is of all work the most important for a young Colonial Church, went steadily forward, and by the end of the century the Church possessed 88 ministers, 156 congregations, and 8149 communicants.

2. **The Presbyterian Church of Otago and Southland,** which was the more numerous as well as more prosperous of the two, supplies in her origin a striking illustration of the combination of religion with practical shrewdness, which is said to be characteristic of the Scottish people. It happened that shortly after '43, when the enthusiasm and rugged determination then being shown by the Free Church laity was attracting universal attention, the New Zealand Company was on the outlook for a better type of colonists than it had hitherto procured. To the directors of the Company these Scottish Free Churchmen seemed just the stamp of men they wanted. Proposals were accordingly laid before some prominent Free Church

laymen in Scotland, which embodied great inducements to good settlers; the Free Church Assembly signified its approval, and soon the scheme of establishing a model religious colony in the Scotland of the far south was fairly floated. *Otago* was secured as the scene of the experiment, and in March 1848 there arrived at *Dunedin* (or New Edinburgh, as they first named it) 236 Free Church emigrants, with the *Rev. T. Burns*, a nephew of the poet, as their minister. Within six months a humble church had been erected and the colony's progress fairly begun. Steady increase in population and prosperity marked the succeeding years, and as the Free Church at home showed a kindly care in sending out additional ministers, it became possible in 1854 to form the first *Presbytery of the Church of Otago*, with three ministers and two elders. Up to 1861 the even development of the colony, and the markedly religious character of the colonists, was well maintained, but in that year a change began. Gold was discovered at Tuapeka, sixty miles from Dunedin, and as had happened in Australia, so now in Otago, a rush of modern life, with all its energy and restlessness and sin, invaded the colony. To the duties thrust upon her the Church responded well. Appeals for additional ministers were immediately sent home, and, until such time as help could arrive, regular visitation of the goldfields was undertaken in rotation by the colony's ministers. "Canvas churches" were set up, and everything possible done to foster good living and true religion. After these stirring times, rapid growth in her membership, extension of her field, and additions to her wealth and institutions have been the Church's lot. To the University of Dunedin she has added three professorial chairs, besides providing a Theological Hall for the training of her own ministry. And though Otago ceased to be the Presbyterian preserve which once it was, the Presbyterian Church at the close of the century,

with her 78 ministers, 150 congregations, and 11,000 communicants, easily held the first place.

3. Attempts at Union.—The existence of these two sister Churches side by side, holding the same doctrines and ruled by the same constitution, had repeatedly suggested the advisability of union, and for one brief year this was actually achieved. Through the efforts of Mr. Bruce of Auckland and Dr. Stuart of Dunedin, a conference of the ministers of both Churches met in Dunedin in 1861, when so unanimous was the feeling in favour of union, that Articles were framed and a Convocation of the Churches summoned to meet at Auckland in the following year. Duly the Convocation met, ratified the Articles, and constituted the first *General Assembly* of the New Zealand Church. But in ratifying the Articles a slight change had been introduced, which worked grievous harm. To the original Articles of the Dunedin Conference, which adopted the old doctrinal and historical standards of the Scottish Church, the Auckland Convocation added the words, "only in so far as they are applicable to the circumstances of this Church." A judicious change it seemed, but to the Otago Church it appeared to open the door to innovations, and the fear was accentuated by the further action of the Assembly in recommending the adoption of a hymn-book, declaring instrumental music an open question, and sanctioning the use of manuals of service. The Church of the North became dangerous in the eyes of the Church of the South, and despite the support of men like Dr. Stuart, the leading minister of the Otago Church, the union had to be dissolved. In 1865 a "Union of Co-operation," which meant nothing, was substituted for the union of incorporation. Twice subsequently were renewed attempts made, once in 1870 and again in 1881, but after four years of discussion the project had again to be abandoned. Every possible concession was

made by the Church of the North, and, as Mr. Ross, the historian of the Otago Church, admits, "with rare magnanimity it agreed to every proposal that was made, and to crown all, consented to allow Dunedin to be made the headquarters of the United Church." But all was in vain, and though signs were not wanting of a growing understanding, the two Churches still remained apart.

4. The United Church.—By the end of the century, however, the spirit of Union was in the ascendant all over the Presbyterian world, and New Zealand proved no exception. Old difficulties were surmounted, and with the new century there began a new and greater life. In 1901 the First General Assembly of the now rightly named *Presbyterian Church of New Zealand* was held at Dunedin, with Dr. James Gibb as moderator, whose leadership had largely helped to the successful issue. The membership of the United Church at that time was 32,744. To-day (1925) it is over 45,000, and with a body of adherents numbering some 200,000, the Presbyterian Church represents one-fourth of the population of New Zealand.

The Union has proved exceptionally successful, both in the rapidity with which a unified life has developed and in the vigorous work which it has enabled the Church to accomplish. The Southern section of the Church continues to be the more numerous and the wealthier, but as the stream of immigration is greater in the North, it is there that the extension efforts of the Church are for the greater part directed. Home and Foreign Missions and a well-planned Social Work are vigorously prosecuted, but the most distinctive feature of the New Zealand Church has been her zeal for first-class *Education*, and her further determination that, as an integral part of their education, her own young people shall receive a thorough grounding in Bible knowledge. At Dunedin the Knox College, erected at a cost of £40,000, is not only the seat of the Theological

Hall, but it is also a residential college for 100 men students of all the faculties at the University. St. Margaret's Residential College does like service for the women. The purely secular education given at all the State Schools compelled the Church to take thought for her own youth, and eight fine collegiate institutions are established at different centres throughout the Dominion, the names of most of which are significant of the spiritual allegiance of the New Zealand Church. Such names as Iona College, Solway College, Columba College, and Melrose College declare the staunchness of the Presbyterian Church to the old Scottish ideals.

Perhaps too this may account for the reluctance of the Church to enter on new ecclesiastical combinations. Union with the Congregational and Methodist Churches seemed in 1921 to have quite a fair prospect of being realised. In 1919, of the 18 presbyteries of the Church 13 had asked the Assembly to consider the possibility of such a Union, and in 1921 the Assembly (subject to concurrence of the Presbyteries) practically approved of Union with the Congregational Church, which had substantially agreed to accept both Presbyterian government and doctrine. But further consideration brought an altered mind, and in 1923 the General Assembly discharged its Union Committee, and declared that "for the present all thought of immediate negotiations must be abandoned."

III. South Africa

A. *The Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa*

1. Slow Beginnings.—This important Church owns a different genealogy, and boasts a greater age, as well as a more numerous membership, than her Australasian sisters, but it cannot be said of her that in her age her honour

lies. Her best days have come last. Originating in 1652, when the earliest Dutch colonists landed at Table Bay, her ecclesiastical history for the first century and a half is almost a blank; and yet there was no lack of possibilities in that long period. A large influx of fugitive French Huguenots, in the end of the seventeenth century, brought a healthy strain into the somewhat dull ecclesiastical life, and an ample field for extension was offered by the steady immigration of Dutch settlers, which by the year 1800 had raised the population to over 20,000. But in spite of the French infusion and increased population, there were then only 10 ministers in the whole field, these being Government chaplains sent out by the State.

2. **Century of Progress.**—In 1806 Cape Colony came under British rule, and for the Reformed Church a healthier epoch commenced. Two years prior to the British occupation there had been signs of better days, the Church being granted a Constitution which permitted an Assembly to be held, although, true to the Dutch traditions, the sanction of Government was required for the legality of the Assembly's decisions. But under the British Government the Church received greater benefits than these. Recognising the great need of additional chaplains or ministers for the increasing population, the Government made application to the Presbyterian Church of Scotland for supplies. Eleven ministers were accordingly sent out in 1822, and as the result of this new blood there was formed in 1824 a *Synod* or *General Assembly*, whose meetings were to be quinquennial. To the new ministers, however, who had been trained in the ways of the Church of Scotland, and were strong in their adherence to the old Scottish principle of the spiritual independence of the Church, the supervision of Government imposed by the Dutch law of 1804 proved irksome; and after agitating for some years, the obnoxious principle in 1843 was

repealed, the Church, though continuing to be supported by the State, being declared to be free from State control in spiritual things. The State support continued until 1875, when it was abolished.

3. Boer Migration.—Prior to 1834 the white population of South Africa was confined to Cape Colony, but in that year a growing antagonism between the Boers (or Dutch farmers) and the British rulers led to a great "trek" or migration of 10,000 Boers, with all their belongings, out of the colony into the territory later known as the *Orange Free State.* In 1837 a similar "trek" took place into *Natal,* from which in 1842 yet another Boer "trek" crossed the Vaal river and founded the *Transvaal Republic.* By these Boer migrations the Reformed Church became divided into four territorial sections, the largest being the *Church of Cape Colony.* In their government and manner of life the various sections are completely at one, while one *Theological Seminary*—that at Stellenbosch—trains the ministers for all. Dutch standards and Dutch liturgies supply the creed and service of the Church, and thoroughly Dutch too is the quiet even life of the congregations.

4. The South African War.—Upon the inner life and the outer relations of the Church, the South African War, when for over two years (1899–1901) Briton and Boer were in deadly conflict, had unhappy effects. For several decades previously the Dutch Reformed Church had been coming into increasing fellowship with the wider Presbyterian world. In 1860 a second band of ministers from Scotland had joined her ranks, bringing with them a healthful breath from the outside. Twenty years later the Rev. Andrew Murray, the inspiring leader of the South African Church, had attained a world-wide fame and influence by the power of his spiritual teaching. In his own Church, largely through his influence, a strong

missionary spirit had developed which resulted in a vigorous mission to the Africans; and in the World-Alliance of Presbyterian Churches the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa had gladly taken her place.

To these developments the war gave a sudden check. In that bitter struggle the Dutch Church was intensely national, and in consequence anti-British. While the war lasted she lived a compulsorily contracted life, and when it ended she had no desire to resume the earlier intercourse. From the two Scottish Churches ambassadors of friendship went, in the honoured persons of the Rev. Dr. Scott from the Church of Scotland, and the Rev. Dr. Ross Taylor from the United Free Church, but their visit was premature. Time had to be allowed for the healing of wounds and the softening of memories, but since the war has become more distant the old relations are steadily returning. In the Nyasaland Mission Field the Dutch Reformed Mission is now (1925) linking itself with the Missions of the Scottish Churches, to create one native "Church of Central Africa, Presbyterian"; and in response to an invitation from the Presbyterian Alliance conveyed by its Secretary, Dr. Fleming, to the Dutch Reformed Assembly in 1924, this large and important Church has agreed to resume her place in the wider Presbyterian family. She is easily *the* Church of South Africa. Of the 900,000 Presbyterians in South Africa, who represent the vast majority of the white population, all but some 60,000 (who are connected with the smaller Presbyterian Church) come under the strong sway of the Dutch Reformed Church.

B. *The Presbyterian Church of South Africa*

1. First Steps.—From the early days of the British connection with the Cape, Scottish Presbyterians were

found in fair numbers among the settlers, and sporadic Scots congregations sprang up. Ignorance of the *taal*,—the tongue of the Cape Dutch, in which all the services of the Dutch-Reformed Churches were, and still are, conducted, — as well as strong national preferences, made such separate provision for their religious needs a necessity. First at Cape Town, and subsequently at various other centres, these Scots congregations arose, connected loosely with different Home Churches, served by ministers from various branches of Scottish Presbyterianism, and aided to some extent by grants from Home. As the number of congregations increased they were grouped into small presbyteries, linked with different Scottish ecclesiastical bodies, but not with each other.

In 1892 the first step was taken towards unifying these units of English-speaking Presbyterians, by the formation at Kimberley of a *Federal Council*, representative of the scattered congregations and presbyteries, and meeting annually at varying centres. A "Basis of Union" for a future Church was quickly framed, and the Council at its annual meeting in 1895 resolved that as soon as four Presbyteries should agree on the Basis a united Church should be constituted.

2. Founding of the Church.—In 1897, at the sixth meeting of the Federal Council, held at Durban, it was reported that 4 Presbyteries and 1 separate congregation had accepted the Basis of Union, and there and then the first General Assembly of *The Presbyterian Church of South Africa* was constituted. In all, the Church consisted of 33 European congregations—4 in Cape Town, 8 in the Transvaal, 9 in the Transkei, 11 in Natal, and 1 in Port Elizabeth. Three Presbyteries representing 20 congregations, of which 17 were native congregations connected with the Mission of the Scottish Free Church and United Presbyterian Church, did not join. Their abstention was

mainly due to the native members fearing that by union with a Colonial Church they would lose the valued connection with the Churches of Britain.

For the 33 congregations who took the great step it was an act of courage and of faith, which subsequent years have not put to shame. Church extension was realised to be the first duty of the new-born Church, and the raising of a fund of £20,000 for this purpose became her first endeavour. Money and ministers have ever since been the two leading wants, but especially the latter—a common experience in most young colonies. The field to be covered is so vast, the English-speaking Presbyterians though numerous are so scattered, the environment in many places is so hostile to the Christian life, that the task of supplying a fully adequate ministry taxes unduly the unaided capabilities of a young Church, and justifies a far larger amount of aid from Home than has been forthcoming. Yet in spite of all difficulties the Church grows. In 1921 the 33 congregations had become 78, and the whole Church numbered 12,040 members and 60,000 adherents.

3. Church Problems.—In addition to the ordinary questions which a young Church has to solve, the Presbyterian Church of South Africa has been faced with two problems of a more special kind, one of which was exceptionally delicate since it was largely connected with the matter of *colour*. In those Presbyteries of the Church which were in Mission districts, native Africans formed the main element in the congregations, and the problem of adjusting the relation of Black and White in the Church Courts had to be faced. The solution adopted by the Southern Presbyterian Church in America, that of having "Native Presbyteries" and giving them an equal place in the Assembly with the Presbyteries of the Whites, was considered and rejected. The bulk of opinion, of mission-

aries as well as others, went in the direction of securing for the native African full freedom of development by constituting a separate but allied purely African Church; and as regarded the greater part of the African membership this was done in 1923. In that year the *Bantu Presbyterian Church*, with an independent Assembly, was formed, a step by which the Presbyterian Church of South Africa lost her two largest native sections. To maintain the fellowship of the two Churches, an arrangement was made whereby six delegates from each Assembly should attend the meetings of the Assembly of the sister Church.

The other special problem which has had to be faced was the familiar one of *Union with the Congregational Church*, and in South Africa this question was made none the easier by being associated with the colour difficulty. Five-sixths of the members of the Congregational Union in South Africa were stated to be either pure natives or coloured people (*i.e.* of mixed descent); and though in 1917 the Assembly unanimously decided to take up the Union question, in 1919 it felt it must first consult the general membership of the Church. Their opinion proved decidedly lukewarm, nor was the popular desire on the Congregational side very marked. Consequently in 1921 all negotiations on the matter were summarily brought to a close. Presbyterianism under the Southern Cross, whether in Australia, New Zealand, or South Africa, evidently does not at present favour union with other denominations.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE MISSION FIELDS

Foreign Missions have long been a major activity of Presbyterianism. While most Protestant Churches have delegated their missionary work to great Societies, the Churches of Presbyterianism, regarding missions as an essential activity of the organised Church, have as a rule retained their missionary work in their own hands. Continental Presbyterian Churches are an exception, the "Society" method being there preferred; but in Britain, in the United States, in Canada, in Australasia, and in South Africa, every important Presbyterian Church has got her own missionary force and her well-defined Mission fields. So extensive are these fields to-day that it has been stated by a very competent authority, Dr. A. J. Brown, that 100,000,000 souls in the world are entirely dependent on Presbyterian Missions for their knowledge of the Gospel. Over 6000 missionaries are at work in various lands; there are more than 620,000 communicant members in the different fields; and a Christian community of over 2,000,000 may fairly be assigned to Presbyterianism in non-Christian countries.

For the most part, the life of the infant Churches in these lands continues to be largely dependent on the fostering care of the missionaries, and the Mission is the

dominant power. Since, however, the twentieth century began, in the older Mission fields a striking development has taken place in the formation of indigenous organised Presbyterian Churches, which are largely independent of Mission control. Usually these Churches have been the result of unions between the Christian communities connected with different Presbyterian Missions. In the case of most of such young Churches, touch with the Missions continues, and the helping hand of the missionary is welcomed; but they have attained sufficient independence in guiding their own life to justify a place being accorded them among the Presbyterian Churches of the World. Of Churches at this stage of development Asia possesses the more important, though Africa is following suit. In the triple qualification which marks a fully independent Church, — that it be self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating,—they vary very much. The Churches of Japan and Korea possess all three features; but in India, China, and Africa, while self-government is in force, the other marks of full age are still incomplete.

A. Presbyterianism in India

Presbyterian Missions have been at work in India for over a century; and as the number of the missions increased, the desirableness of building up in India one Presbyterian Church came to be generally recognised. In 1875 at Allahabad the first definite step in this direction was taken by the formation of *The Presbyterian Alliance of India*. This was an organisation which linked together the many Presbyterian missionaries from Britain and America, for the purpose of periodical conference, and combined action towards the far-off goal of one Presbyterian Church.

In 1904 the goal was in large measure reached by the creation of *The Presbyterian Church in India*, which brought together the Indian congregations connected with the Missions of the American Presbyterian Church, the Canadian Presbyterian Church, the Church of Scotland, the United Free Church of Scotland, the Irish Presbyterian Church, and also those of the already formed United Church of South India. The community represented numbered 50,000. The immense distances, however, which separated the various sections from each other, as well as the great variety of languages, considerably restricted the intercourse, though the unification served many good purposes; but efficiency was undoubtedly gained when in South India the Presbyterians decided to form more practical *local* unions with other bodies, and detached themselves accordingly from the larger combination. To-day (1925) Indian Presbyterianism is mainly represented by two wide-stretching organisations, —the *South India United Church* and the *United Church of India* (*North*).

1. South India United Church.—Union in South India has passed through several stages in a short space of time. In 1902 it began with the Union of the Indian congregations of the United Free Church of Scotland and those of the Arcot Mission of the American Reformed Church (Dutch). Their union created the *United Church of South India*, with a community of 12,000 Christians. In 1904 this body became the Southern Synod of the Presbyterian Church in India.

In the two great Congregational Missions of South India,—the London Mission and the American Madura Mission,—a similar union movement was simultaneously taking place, and in 1905 the congregations of these combined to form *The United Churches of South India*, with a community of 130,000. To the Presbyterians of

South India it now seemed sound policy to withdraw from the far-off Northern combination, and make common cause with their Congregational neighbours,—if only the essentials of Presbyterianism were sufficiently preserved. In 1908 this was successfully secured, and there was then formed the present strong *South India United Church.*

The Church has a community to-day of over 240,000; her constitution is essentially Presbyterian, with a large latitude to congregations in the guidance of their own life. Ordination is "by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery." The Synods or Councils are the highest authorities, the General Assembly which meets triennially being as yet advisory. In the years that have passed since the Union there has been a marked growth of "Church-consciousness" among the Indian ministers and elders who sit in the courts of the Church, and the Indian character of the Church is increasingly prominent. Widespread interest has been directed to this Church by proposals which have been made for union between her and the South Indian section of the Church of England. Whether these proposals will ever be carried out seems at present doubtful. A "constitutional episcopacy" would be accepted by the South India Church, but the frank recognition of Presbyterian Ordination and the full retention of her old intimate relations with other non-Episcopal Churches, seem to be more than the Anglican Church can at present concede.

2. **United Church of India (North).**—Under this name, since 27th December 1924, the former *Presbyterian Church in India* is henceforth to be known. For twenty years after her formation in 1904 this Church grew steadily in numbers and in importance, the greatest single addition to her strength coming in 1921 with the accession of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists from Assam. By this, 53,000 members were added, almost as many as all the

other Churches together possessed, and a stream of vigorous life enriched the Church. It also made the Church representative of practically the whole of the Presbyterianism of Northern India, from the Panjab to the Central Provinces and from Bombay to Assam—with one important exception. The American United Presbyterian Mission in the Panjab, with its large membership and high prestige, has not yet joined the others, though the relations are most friendly.

Following the example of South India, the (Indian) Congregational Churches in North India recently made overtures to the Presbyterian Church in the direction of Union, and this larger Union has now been carried through. In contrast to the Church of South India, the Presbyterian element in the Northern is much the stronger; but in both Churches, though the name of "Presbyterian" has vanished, the realities of Presbyterianism largely remain. In these two sisters, the "United Churches" in Southern and Northern India, there are now included almost the whole of the Indian people, numbering nigh half a million, who have been brought into the Christian Church by Presbyterian and Congregational Missions in India.

B. Presbyterianism in China

The course run in China by the various Presbyterian communities created by Missions from America and Britain has been very similar to that followed in India. In 1907 a Federal Council was formed by the Missions to prepare the way for organic Church Union, and in 1918 this great goal was reached. At Nanking there was then constituted *The Presbyterian Church in China*, ten Presbyterian Missions making their several contributions. These Missions hailed from America, Canada, Britain,

and New Zealand, and the Chinese Church which then took shape numbered 80,000 members, and gave unity to the whole of Presbyterianism in Eastern China.

Three years later came a wider Union. As in India, so in China: the congregations of the two great Missions of American and British Congregationalism (the American Board of Missions and the London Missionary Society) and the newly formed Chinese Presbyterian Church now sought for union, and in 1921 they attained it. In that year *The United Church of Christ in China* was formed, the Presbyterians contributing 87,332 members and the Congregationalists 29,000. Together they constitute by far the largest Protestant Church in China, and their contribution to their country's service, of Chinese Christians of marked capacity and power to lead, is proportionately great. A yet further union with the congregations of the English Baptist Mission is spoken of, and the little regard which China (like other Oriental lands) pays to denominational distinctions, and even to minor theological differences, makes this not improbable. In the various Courts of the Church the Missions are represented, but the membership and the voting power are overwhelmingly Chinese.

C. Presbyterianism in Japan

Presbyterianism in Japan owes its origin and early progress almost wholly to Missions from America. Beginning their work in 1859, things had so far advanced by 1877 that six Missions of Presbyterian and Reformed Churches that year unified their Christian congregations, by forming *The United Church of Christ in Japan.* The remarkable qualities of several of the leading missionaries, notably Dr. Hepburn and Dr. Verbeck, helped much to give the Church a prominent place in the developing life

of Japan, and drew within her influence an unusual proportion of the educated and upper classes. Quality rather than quantity was a characteristic; but an increase in membership and power has all along been maintained. In 1895 the communicant members numbered 11,000; in 1925 they number 33,000. Two hundred congregations and seven Presbyteries are under one supreme Synod, and all the usual equipment of theological seminaries and other Church necessities is well attended to.

In comparison with the indigenous Churches of India and China, the most noteworthy feature of the Japanese Church is her passion for independence. She is both self-governing and self-supporting. When Missions from America or elsewhere seek to propagate Christianity within the area of her Presbyteries, while she gladly welcomes their presence and co-operation, she insists that her own Board of Missions shall have the final controlling word in all the missionary operations; and should one of her congregations accept financial aid from a Mission without sanction from the Church, that congregation is deprived of its status in the Presbytery. In these things the Church but shows that she shares to the full in the enthusiastic nationalism of her country.

D. Presbyterianism in Korea (Chosen)

The Presbyterian Church in Korea has an easy priority among all the indigenous Presbyterian Churches of Asia; and in respect of rapidity of growth, heroic endurance, and strong simple faith, she has probably no superior anywhere. Not without reason has Korea been entitled the "Modern Holy Land."

It was not until 1885 that Missions first entered Korea, American Presbyterians being among the earliest arrivals, and so speedily as 1908 *The Church of Christ in Korea*,

with 25,000 communicants, was constituted, two American Presbyterian Missions, one Canadian, and one Australian being the spiritual parents. The progress was phenomenal. In four more years there were seven Presbyteries and a General Assembly, with all the usual organisations of a Presbyterian Church. In 1922 the congregations numbered 1266, the communicant members 75,866, and the adherents 187,271. To-day the community is over 200,000 strong. In Christian liberality the Church is remarkable, her members delighting in sacrifice for the sake of Christ. In one year recently the increase was £35,000. The Church is exceedingly independent, and has a proper pride in doing things for herself. Not only is she self-governing and self-supporting, but in a notable degree she is also self-propagating, carrying on her own Foreign Mission in Shantung and in Manchuria, and even tentatively in Siberia.

Since 1910 this Church's sorrows have drawn to her the sympathy of the Presbyterian world. In that year Korea was annexed by Japan and was re-named Chosen, as a province of Japan. In common with all their fellow countrymen the Korean Christians are intensely patriotic, and in seeking to assimilate their new possession to their own Japanese ideals and ways, the Japanese authorities came to regard the Christian Church and Christian Missions as among their most serious obstacles. The moral and intellectual independence of the average Christian rendered him undesirable, and a succession of Japanese governors sought to suppress him. Mission schools were discouraged and often forbidden. Suspicion and persecution dogged the Christians daily. In 1911, on a false charge of conspiring to assassinate a high Japanese official, large numbers of Christians were imprisoned, of whom many died from their hardships. In 1919, on an Independence movement breaking out, Christians were

specially fastened on as being implicated, and persecutions of a most cruel kind were widespread. Only after repeated representations from America and elsewhere did a change for the better come. The persecuting officials were replaced by others of a less harsh type, and to-day something approaching ordinary fair treatment is being accorded. Through all the trials the Church kept steadfast, and has emerged from them with a yet intenser faith and a more vigorous life.

E. Presbyterianism in Africa

Among the backward peoples of Africa the development of self-governing Churches has naturally been slower than in the intellectually more advanced Eastern world. The guiding hand of the missionary cannot be removed so early, though in the matter of self-support young African congregations move faster than do the congregations of India and China. But of late years progress towards an independent life has been increasingly rapid, the best examples being the Churches of Basutoland and of East Central Africa.

1. The Basuto Church.—This Church owes everything to the French Protestant Mission, which began its great work in Basutoland in 1833. In a country whose whole population numbers 450,000 the Christian element now reaches 75,000, while the communicant members of the Church are over 20,000. The support of the Church comes entirely from the Basuto people themselves, and slowly but surely there is an advance to full self-government. The present constitution is the result of much experimenting. For long the system adopted was practically Congregationalism, with something of the nature of episcopal supervision by the missionaries. In 1872 a Synod, with power over all the congregations, was

tried. It was largely native in its composition, and after ten years' trial had to be dissolved, owing to the frequent ignoring of its authority by the local congregations. Since 1898 the ruling body has been a combined Conference of European missionaries and Basuto ministers. The *Seboka*, as this body is termed, has proved very successful, and the further creation of a small advisory Synod, largely consisting of lay members, has lessened the purely clerical nature of the government. The Presbyterianism is not on the European model, but experience has demonstrated its suitability for the Basuto.

2. The Church of Central Africa, Presbyterian.—On 17th September 1924, at Livingstonia in Nyasaland, this Church was constituted. By the union of the Church of Scotland Presbytery of Blantyre with the United Free Church Presbytery of Livingstonia, there was formed the Synod of the Church of Central Africa, Presbyterian,—a Church representing an African community of 65,000 souls. Ever since 1875, when the Livingstonia Mission began, and 1876, when the Blantyre Mission commenced its work, this goal had been kept in view by the sister Scottish Missions. The two Scottish Assemblies in 1914 had cordially approved of the final step being taken, but the World War postponed the consummation for other ten years. The delay, however, was not all loss, as in the interval the third great Presbyterian Mission in that area, the Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, had grown increasingly intimate in its relations; and within a few weeks after the Union had taken place, the Dutch Reformed Synod at Cape Town cordially agreed that its Nyasaland (Mission) Presbytery should cast in its lot with the united Church. This has meant practically a doubling of the numerical strength of the young African Church, a great addition to her influence, and a strong security for her future stability and capability. Largely

self-supporting, actively self-propagating, and entirely self-governing, the Church is one whose creed is the old creed of Presbyterianism but greatly simplified, whose system of government largely follows the old Scottish model, which the Africans of Nyasaland find very congenial, and in whose courts African ministers and elders largely predominate. In this Church of Central Africa one of Livingstone's grandest dreams has been realised.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PRESBYTERIAN DIASPORA[1]

In the official roll of the Presbyterian Churches appears a list of over two hundred congregations, scattered through all parts of the globe, and classed together under the appropriate title of "*The Diaspora.*" Numerically small, they are yet possessed of a peculiar interest. They remind us of the many exiled sons of Presbyterianism who, placed in lands, heathen or Christian, where Presbyterianism was not, have been faithful to the training of their early days, and have formed congregations on the old familiar model. Such, in their infancy, were the now prosperous American and Colonial Churches; but the modern congregations of the Diaspora exist for the most part in tropical or sub-tropical lands, where the stay of European residents is but temporary. Climatic reasons prevent the formation of settled and growing colonies, and in consequence render impossible the development of independent Presbyterian Churches. With a population ever changing in its membership and numerically stationary, great growth in the churches is not to be expected. Healthy existence is all that can be looked for. And in maintaining this the mother Churches in the lands whence the Presbyterian sojourners have mostly come lend valued aid.

[1] *Diaspora*, a Greek word = *Dispersion*, originally applied to the scattered Israelites.

1. The Diaspora of the Scottish Churches.—The ubiquity of the Scot has led the Scottish Churches to take a special interest in the Presbyterian Diaspora,—an interest which, particularly through the insistence of the Church of Scotland on her rights as one of the National Churches of Britain, has been of great benefit to the exiled sons of all the Presbyterian Churches. Scotsmen are to be found in the service of Government in every colony and foreign possession of Great Britain ; and for ministering to their needs (when present in sufficient numbers) either Government chaplaincies have been established or Government aid has been given, the result being seen in many Presbyterian congregations connected with Home Churches. These are mostly isolated from each other, and remain in the "congregational" stage of Presbyterian development. Such are the congregations in the West India Islands, Mauritius, Gibraltar, Malta, and elsewhere. But in three portions of the British Empire, owing to a closer proximity of stations, a higher stage has been reached, viz. in India, Ceylon, and British Guiana.

(1) *India.*—Presbyterianism gained its first foothold in India in 1814, when, in addition to the already existing staff of Anglican chaplains, the East India Company established a chaplaincy of the Scottish Church at each of the three Presidency towns. It was a rather tardy but most welcome recognition of the claims of the Company's Scottish Presbyterian employees ; yet some time had still to elapse before the full rights of this new branch of the Ecclesiastical Establishment were conceded. To the Anglican Bishop of Calcutta the Scottish chaplains appeared in the light of English dissenters, and through his influence they were for a time treated accordingly. Permission to celebrate marriages was refused, and other petty annoyances were inflicted. But, fortunately for Presbyterianism,

the Church had a doughty champion in Dr. Bryce, the Calcutta chaplain, through whose firm persistence one after another of the grievances was redressed, until at last the complete equality in status of the Scottish with the Anglican Church in India was acknowledged. With the growth of British power and the increase in the number of British residents, there has also been a gradual increase in the number of chaplaincies. They now amount to eighteen, and through the combined exertions of the Colonial Committee of the Church, the Additional Clergy Society, and the Government of India, six additional officiating chaplains are supported. These twenty-four, with two ministers of the United Free Church who labour in Calcutta and Bombay, constitute the main Presbyterian staff for ministering to a community whose numbers, according to the latest Government census, slightly exceed 12,000. Half of these belong to the Scottish and other regiments serving in India, while the other half consists of the many merchants, planters, engineers, and other sons of Scotland who sojourn for a time in the East. Twenty churches erected at widely separated stations,—some of them of stately proportions,—attest the presence of the Presbyterian Church in the land; and though less of a power than her sons could wish, she is doing to-day a much-needed work, not merely by supplying the ordinances of religion to her own children, but also by giving—what Anglo-India at present much requires—a steady witness to the old and vital truths of Protestant evangelicalism.

(2) *Ceylon.*—The golden days of Presbyterianism in Ceylon were those of the Dutch occupation. On the capture of the island by the Dutch in 1642, immediate steps were taken by that most proselytising of Protestant powers to give a Presbyterian Church to the people. A division of the island into three ecclesiastical districts, followed by the building of churches and schools, and

the establishment of several chaplaincies, witnessed to their strong Protestant zeal; and for a century and a half the zeal continued. Some of the methods employed in the endeavour to convert the natives cannot, indeed, be approved of, such as making conversion to Christianity a condition of promotion in Government service; but the undoubted interest manifested by the Dutch nation in the advancement of Christianity, both in Ceylon and in its other possessions, is most praiseworthy. And when, in 1796, the island passed into the hands of the British, it did so with the express stipulation that "the clergy and other ecclesiastical servants shall continue in their functions, and receive the same pay and emoluments as they had from the Company" (*i.e.* the Dutch East India Company). Sixteen clergy were thus handed over to the care of the new rulers, but in 1806 fifteen of these followed their countrymen to Java, leaving the British Power free to make what arrangements it pleased. The results of the change were the cessation of all direct missionary work by the State; the restriction of the chaplaincies to work among the European or burgher (mixed) population; the introduction of Anglican chaplains; and after 1840 the re-creation of a few Presbyterian chaplaincies for supplying the needs of the growing Presbyterian population. Never numerous, these chaplaincies now number only two. The old Dutch or "burgher" Church has seven congregations in the island, and all the nine are linked in an advisory "Presbytery." In 1886 State aid to religion ceased in Ceylon.

(3) *British Guiana.*—In Guiana, as in Ceylon, Presbyterianism is a legacy from the Dutch to the Scottish Church. The cession of the territory to the British in 1815 imposed on the new owners the duty of supplying the place of the Dutch Presbyterian chaplains, which was done by indenting on the Church of Scotland for the

needed ministers; but since 1825 an altogether unique ecclesiastical arrangement has obtained. The colony was then divided into eighteen parishes, of which half were apportioned to the Church of England and half to the Church of Scotland, the Presbyterian parishes regularly alternating with the Episcopal. For each parish a chaplain was provided by Government. In 1920 a disestablishing measure was passed, since which date no chaplains have been directly appointed by the Government, and a steady withdrawal of State aid has been in force. Save in Georgetown, the capital, the congregations consist mainly of "coloured people"—the descendants, either of pure or mixed blood, of the freed negroes of 1838.

2. **The Diaspora of the Church of the Netherlands.**—Next in importance to those of the Scottish Churches are the compact bodies of the Diaspora which are found in Surinam (Dutch Guiana) and the Dutch East Indies—all that remains of the once great colonial empire of the Netherlands. The churches which the Dutch founded in their other colonies passed, with the loss of these, into other hands, but in the two remaining possessions the Church of the Netherlands still continues to maintain the cause of Presbyterianism. In *Surinam* Government chaplains alone supply the needs of the community, no missionary work being undertaken. But in Java and the other islands of the valuable Eastern colonies both chaplains and missionaries are at work, their congregations being welded by a government in sympathy with their work into one ecclesiastical organisation—the *Colonial Reformed Church*.

3. **Isolated Congregations.**—Lacking the compactness of these Presbyterian communities, and still further removed from the strength of a developed Presbyterianism, is the great army of isolated congregations dotted over the

civilised world. In the Far East at the large trading centres from Rangoon to Shanghai, in the tropic lands of Brazil and Western America, at the leading health resorts of central and southern Europe, such congregations are to be found,—seldom large, always fluctuating, but constituting a valuable witness, and a no less valuable aid, to the ecclesiastical loyalty of Presbyterians in foreign parts. For the most part these congregations are the care of one or other of the Churches of Britain and Ireland, the English Presbyterian Church being specially distinguished for her interest in Further India, as is the United Free Church for her successful ministrations to Presbyterians in Continental Europe. In a few instances the Home Churches have *combined* to support a foreign charge, and have thus adopted a practical policy which is being increasingly followed. Through enforced and long-continued absence from Presbyterian ordinances, the loyalty to their Church of Presbyterians abroad is often sorely tried, and though usually the test is well sustained, yet some fall away. For the prevention of this a great multiplication of the congregations of the Diaspora is needed,—an object that can only be attained through combination on the part of the mother Churches in Britain and America.

CHAPTER XV

THE CATHOLIC PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

On 3rd July 1877 a notable congregation assembled in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh. Representatives from all the many branches of the Presbyterian Church throughout the world had there gathered to take part in the opening service of the *First Œcumenical Council* of the Presbyterian Church. Quadrennially since then have similar councils met, on each occasion at a different centre of Protestantism—in Britain, Canada, and the United States—and have done for Presbyterianism in visible form what the preceding pages have sought to do in written word. They have exhibited the place which Presbyterianism occupies in Christendom; have emphasised the existence of a Catholic Presbyterian Church, whose branches reach to the ends of the earth; have comforted the hearts and strengthened the hands of many weak and isolated churches, by the sight of the great brotherhood to which they belong; and by drawing representatives, as they have done, from many branches, each suggesting a different history and exhibiting different graces, they have brought to view the various factors in the past and in the present which make up the power of the Presbyterian Church.

1. The Church's Catholicity of Range.—What makes the Presbyterian Church of to-day unique among Pro-

testant Churches is the catholicity of her range. Of the three great Churches of the Reformation—the Lutheran, the Anglican, and the Presbyterian,—while all have greatly grown and developed since their breach with Rome, the two former have in their progress kept strictly to national lines, their expansion having been conditioned by the expansion of the German and English nations. Presbyterianism, on the other hand, from the days of Calvin, has refused to be limited by any national boundary line, and, becoming the ecclesiastical polity of many nations, has taken its place as a Church of Christendom, whose catholicity is only second to that of the Church of Rome. "It is a simple historical fact of deep significance," says Professor Heron of Belfast, "that wherever the Reformation had free course, wherever it was permitted to shape itself spontaneously after Scripture, and without external interference, it assumed a Presbyterian form." Nor has the tendency or its significance now ceased. Among the young Protestant Churches of native growth to-day, which are struggling into life amid the Romanism of Southern Europe, the Mohammedanism of Western Asia, the superstitions of Brazil, or in India and the Far East, the same process is going on. As soon as the initial stage of Congregationalism is outgrown there begins the grouping into Presbyteries, which marks a further extension of the Catholic Presbyterian Church.

2. **The Church's Numerical Strength.**—In the foregoing survey of Presbyterianism all the leading Presbyterian Churches have found a place, but in estimating the total strength of the Church, account has to be taken of the contributions from the many minor branches which have had to be omitted from the general sketch, and which, though individually small, bulk large in combination. Of organised branches of the Presbyterian Church there are in all 95, possessing an aggregate membership of

7,879,811. It is a moderate estimate, and one founded on an accurate knowledge of Presbyterian ways, which considers this large communicants' roll to represent a total Presbyterian connection of 30,000,000 souls. The Presbyterian Church is thus one of the three largest branches of the Church of the Reformation; the Anglican Church and the Methodist Church being the others (if the very distinct Methodist Churches of England and America, Wesleyan and Episcopal, may be counted as one), each having a very similar membership.

3. The Church's Services in the Past.—Since the days of the Reformation, the centre of Presbyterian life has shifted from the Continent of Europe to the countries peopled by the Anglo-Saxon race; but the roll-call of the great Council of the Church, including as it does the names of the older Churches of Bohemia, Hungary, Geneva, France, and Holland, acts as a timely reminder of the services rendered to humanity in the past by the Churches which then guarded the truths of Calvinism. In the stirring times which followed the outburst of the Reformation, the Presbyterian Churches, when fighting for their own existence against secular despotism and ecclesiastical tyranny, were fighting for the rights of man. Their Calvinistic Creed, emphasising as it did the equality of all men in the sight of God, and the responsibility of each man to his Maker, was first embodied in an ecclesiastical system, but soon of necessity affected men's civil relationships. Wherever ecclesiastical usages conflicted with these inborn rights, or secular power repressed the freedom of the conscience, and no redress could be obtained save by the sword, the hands most vigorous in the wielding of it were those of Calvinistic Presbyterians. In France, in Hungary, in Holland, in Scotland, and, at a later stage, in America, the same spectacle is to be seen. It is the Calvinists who are ever foremost in the battle for freedom,

whether of Church or State. Nor is England any real exception, for, though Episcopacy be the Church system there now prevailing, in the days when the battle for freedom had to be fought, Calvinism was the dominant creed. "Calvinists," says Canon Perry, "were the main body of the Elizabethan Bishops in doctrine, and inclined to Presbyterianism in principle." And Calvinists, too, as Froude has abundantly shown in his last book, *The English Seamen of the Sixteenth Century*, were the gallant sailors of the South who put to flight the great Armada of Spain. It has not been left to Presbyterians to record the services to the cause of human liberty which the kinsmen of their faith have rendered. Witnesses of other Churches have vied with each other in acknowledging their common debt. It is Froude, an Anglican, who says, "Whatever was the cause, the Calvinists were the only fighting Protestants. It was they whose faith gave them courage to stand up for the Reformation, and but for them the Reformation would have been crushed." It is Lord Morley, an agnostic, who writes, "To omit Calvin from the forces of western evolution is to read history with one eye shut"; and who quotes with thorough approval the weighty words of Mark Pattison, again not a Presbyterian but an Anglican, "The policy of Calvin was a vigorous effort to supply what the revolutionary movement wanted—*a positive education of the individual soul.* The power thus generated was too expansive to be confined to Geneva. It went forth into all countries. From every part of Protestant Europe eager hearts flocked hither to catch something of the inspiration. This and this alone enabled the Reformation to make head against the terrible repressive forces brought to bear by Spain, the Inquisition and the Jesuits. Sparta against Persia was not such odds as Geneva against Spain. *Calvinism saved Europe.*"

4. The Church's Fitness for the Present. — The

present century is witnessing the increasing triumph of the principles for which Calvinism contended in the past; and accordingly, if the usefulness of a Church be in any way dependent on her sympathy with the ruling ideas and institutions of the time, the Presbyterian Church should be peculiarly fitted for ministering to modern life. The two principles which are most insisted on in modern political life—the equality of all men, and the right of self-government—are two which in the Creed and Constitution of the Church find clear expression. In her Courts, from Kirk-Session to General Assembly, peer and peasant meet upon a strict equality; and in the election of her office-bearers the Christian people have their privilege of self-government carefully preserved. She is a democratic Church, and by her rapid extension in the younger lands where the modern principles find their fullest development, she is proving herself fitted for a democratic age.

5. **The Church's Prospects for the Future.**—With a historic past rich in heroic achievement, and a present marked by world-wide extension, the future of the Presbyterian Church is bright with hope. The many unions during the last half-century between branches of the Church once sorely estranged, may be taken as the presage of a coming time when, in every land where Presbyterianism exists, there will be but one Presbyterian Church. And if in the far future the day should come for which many are longing, when the Churches of Protestant Christendom will abandon their isolation from each other and become one, it will be found that the Presbyterian Church has not been the least active in furthering the great end. Of this present service in the cause of union two signs are very visible to-day, one without the Church and the other within. Outside the Presbyterian Church, in the other great branches of Protestantism, the leaven of Presbyterianism is working not only visibly but rapidly.

Since the repressing hand of the State in Germany has been removed, the Lutheran Church is adopting a Presbyterian constitution. The universal adoption by the Anglican Church of Synodal government in her Colonial branches, where in her Synods layman and cleric meet together with the Bishop as permanent Moderator; her more recent creation of a National Church Assembly in England; the growing desire in the already semi-Presbyterian Methodist Church for a larger infusion of laymen in the clerical oligarchy which forms that Church's highest council; the marked tendency of Congregationalism to gather its forces together in General Councils—all are approximations on the part of the sister Protestant Churches to methods which have hitherto been peculiar to Presbyterianism. Nor are signs wanting *within* the Presbyterian Church of a like tendency on her part to break down the walls of division. The free adoption of agencies and services formerly peculiar to other Churches points in this direction, but most significant of all is the *catholicity of spirit* by which she is now pervaded. She refuses the name of Christian to none "who call upon the name of the Lord Jesus Christ," and unchurches no ecclesiastical organisation "where the Word of God is preached and the Sacraments duly administered." In this catholicity lies a sure token that, when the day of reunion approaches, the Catholic Presbyterian Church will not be found wanting in any sacrifice that will hasten the answer to the prayer "that they all may be one."

Statistics of the Presbyterian Church

(From the Report of the Council of the Presbyterian Alliance held at Pittsburgh, U.S.A., in 1921)

	Churches.	Congregations.	Ministers.	Communicants.
In the European Continent . . .	26	6,549	6,872	2,010,999
In the United Kingdom	11	5,850	5,596	1,654,219
In Asia	16	2,895	1,395	304,326
In Africa	15	1,516	694	454,453
In N. America	12	21,607	17,908	3,287,494
In S. America	7	189	150	27,812
In West Indies	4	160	97	18,943
In Australasia	4	854	826	121,565
Totals	95	39,620	33,538	7,879,811

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(3) For a general view of the Modern Presbyterian Churches. Especially valuable are—

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